DOCUMENT RESUME

ED 044 689 48 AL 002 664

AUTHOR Le Gassick, Trevor
TITLE Modern Arabic Prose Literature: An Introduction.
INSTITUTION Michigan Univ., Ann Arbor.
SPONS AGENCY Institute of International Studies (DHEW/OE), Washington, D.C.
BUREAU NO BR-0-7736
PUB DATE Nov 70
CONTRACT OEC-0-70-3987(823)
NOTE 285p.
AVAILABLE FROM Inspection copy available at ERIC Clearinghouse for Linguistics, Center for Applied Linguistics, 1717 Massachusetts Ave., Washington, D.C. 20036

EDRS PRICE EDRS Price MF-$1.25 HC Not Available from EDRS.
DESCRIPTORS *Arabic, *Authors, *Bibliographies, *Literary History, Literature, *Prose

ABSTRACT

This is the preliminary draft of a planned "Introduction to Modern Arabic Prose Literature," the completed text of which "would offer basic biographical and bibliographical impressions, rather than extensive treatments, of the major figures in Arabic prose in the 19th and 20th centuries, along with concise assessments of their ranges of interests and literary achievements." The present version begins with an introductory section on classical Arabic literature and then traces the development of Arabic prose writing from the time of the Napoleonic invasion of Egypt to the period following World War II. Individual sections cover the production of a certain time period or movement ("The Muhammad Ali Dynasty and the Arabic Renaissance," "Syrian Muslim Reformists," etc.), providing a brief general introduction to the period followed by extended treatments of important authors. The author stresses that sections on mid-20th century journalists, political and philosophical writers, and certain major figures in contemporary Arabic fiction are necessary before the text can be considered complete. A 90-page bibliography compiled by Howard Rowland is appended. It lists not only the works of the authors considered in the body of the text but also critical considerations of these authors as well. [Not available in hard copy due to marginal legibility of original.] (FWB)

Title VI, NDEA
P.L. 48 BR 0-7736

Final Report
Contract No.: OEC-0-70-3987 (823)

ED 044689

Modern Arabic Prose Literature: An Introduction

U.S. DEPARTMENT OF HEALTH, EDUCATION & WELFARE
OFFICE OF EDUCATION
THIS DOCUMENT HAS BEEN REPRODUCED EXACTLY AS RECEIVED FROM THE PERSON OR ORGANIZATION ORIGINATING IT. POINTS OF VIEW OR OPINIONS STATED DO NOT NECESSARILY REPRESENT OFFICIAL OFFICE OF EDUCATION POSITION OR POLICY.

TREVOR LE GASSICK

AL 002 664

Ann Arbor, Michigan
November, 1970

U. S. Department of Health, Education,
and Welfare
Office of Education
Institute of International Studies

ED044689

Final Report

Contract no. OEC-0-70-3987 (823)

Modern Arabic Prose Literature----

An Introduction

Trevor Le Gassick

University of Michigan

Ann Arbor, Mich.

November, 1970

The research reported herein was performed pursuant to a contract with the Office of Education, U.S. department of Health, Education and Welfare, under provisions of Title VI, Section 602, of the National Defense Education Act, Public Law 85-864, as amended.

U.S. Department of Health, Education and Welfare

Office of Education

Institute of International Studies.

PREFACE

This Report gives the results of several months spent, in the summer of 1970, reading, reviewing, writing and organizing materials towards the preparation of a preliminary draft of an Introduction to Modern Arabic Prose Literature; it includes a provisional bibliography compiled by Mr Howard Rowland, a graduate research assistant. The author's intention was and remains to attempt to develop a text for students of Arabic literature that will introduce this broad and diverse field in a manner both succinct and likely to stimulate further interest. The text would offer basic biographical and bibliographical impressions, rather than extensive treatments, of the major figures in Arabic prose in the 19th and 20th centuries, along with concise assessments of their ranges of interest and literary achievements.

As here presented, the text is still incomplete. Additional readings and assessments need to be made for Ṭāhā Ḥusain, ᶜAbbās al-ᶜAqqād, Aḥmad Luṭfī al-Sayyid and others who might conveniently be later included in a section on the Journalists, Critics and litterateurs of Egypt at early mid-century. Similarly, authors of Arabic political and philosophical writings and the Arab nationalism movement need separate treatment. Further short essays on major figures of contemporary Arabic fiction, Maḥfūẓ, Idrīs, Ḥaqqī and others, must be assembled before the basic objectives of the text could be considered achieved. An index would, of course, also be indispensable for the maximal usefulness of the work.

CONTENTS

Introduction-------Classical Arabic Literature.....1

The Napoleonic Invasion of Egypt.....8

Arabic Literary Activity under the French.....10

The Muḥammad ᶜAlī Dynasty and the Arabic Renaissance....11

The Egyptian Study Missions to France.....13

Rifāᶜa Rāfiᶜ al-Ṭahṭāwī.....13

ᶜAlī Pasha Mubārak.....20

Beginnings of the Literary Revival in Syria.....22

Aḥmad Fāris al-Shidyāq.....22

Continuing Development of Education in Syria.....28

al-Madrasat al-Waṭanīya--Buṭrus al-Bustānī.....30

Salīm and Sulaimān al-Bustānī.....32

Nāṣīf al-Yāzijī and his Sons.....34

Resentments in Egypt.....37

Jamāl al-Dīn al-Afghānī.....38

Muḥammad ᶜAbduh.....46

The ᶜUrābī Movement--Egyptian Secular Reformists.....53

ᶜAbd Allah al-Nadīm.....57

ʾAdīb Isḥāq.....64

Yaᶜqūb Ṣanūᶜ.....67

Muṣṭafā Kāmil.....73

Syrian Muslim Reformists.....80

Muḥammad Rashīd Riḍā 80

ᶜAbd al-Raḥmān al-Kawākibī.....84

Literary-Journalistic Contributions of Christian Arabs..90

Jurjī Zaidān.....91

Faraḥ ʾAnṭūn.....97

Salāma Mūsā 102

CONTENTS, continued)

Lebanese-American Émigré Litterateurs.....111

Jibrān Khalīl Jibrān 111

Mikhā'īl Nu^{c}aima 120

Amīn al-Riḥānī.....132

Beginnings of Modern Fiction in Egypt.....145

Muḥammad al-Muwailiḥī.....145

Muṣṭafā Luṭfī al-Manfalūṭī.....147

Muḥammad Ḥāfiẓ Ibrāhīm.....151

Muḥammad Ḥusain Haikal.....155

The Taimūr Family.....162

Aḥmad Taimūr.....162

Muḥammad Taimūr.....165

Maḥmūd Taimūr.....165

Tawfīq al-Ḥakīm.....169

Post World War Arabic Fiction.....176

Iḥsān ^{c}Abd al-Quddūs.....176

Footnotes 185

Provisional Bibliography.....189

Introduction

The Arabic language, written without major change in grammar or basic vocabulary, over a vast geographical area for almost 1500 years, has enjoyed a continuity as a vehicle for literary expression unmatched by any other language. As the language in which the Koran was expressed, it has itself constituted the most fundamental basis of all study and interpretation of Islam and was, until only decades ago, the lingua franca of the entire Muslim world. Still widely studied even in non-Arabic reading Muslim countries, Arabic has provided large percentages of the vocabulary content of other languages, especially Turkish, Persian, Urdu and Malay and Arabic literature has had major influences on the developments of the literatures of these and other languages.

Many of the masterpieces of classical Arabic are widely known and appreciated in today's Arab world and continue to influence literary production there. A number of authors writing in the period covered by this study have both modelled their work stylistically on those of classical writers and have made contributions to similar fields of literature. A brief survey of the major genres of classical literature will demonstrate the nature of the indigenous literary heritage from which modern Arab authors draw.

The Earliest Arabic Writings

A Hamito-Semitic language of indeterminate antiquity, archaeological discoveries show a widespread use of a proto-Arabic script in religious and governmental functions in the pre-Islamic petty states and kingdoms of the periphery of the Arabian peninsula. Although no concrete supporting contemporary evidence has yet been

discovered, it is assumed that spoken Arabic was also a vehicle for the expression of poetry and story-telling, without which, it seems, no primitive society has existed. The coming of Islam in the second and third decades of the 7th century A.D. and the great expansion in the use and study of the Arabic language following thereafter, led to the collection and compilation of a great body of materials supposedly from this pre-Islamic era. Likely to be authentic in some measure, if not in exact present form, the extraordinary mass of verses still preserved, representing several score poets, chiefly male, may be taken to provide a panorama of the type of literary activity in the tribes and settlements of ancient Arabia. Much of this poetry is highly sophisticated in metrical arrangement and imagery and with conventions seemingly established for each genre to give an impression of poets both skilled and gifted creating for an audience with a well-established and demanding system of criteria for poetic excellence. The most widely appreciated of these poems, in ode form, move in a complex and stylized progression in interest-focus and imagery and are clearly intended to demonstrate the poetic virtuosity and stress the fine qualities of the poet himself as well as to proclaim the power and importance of the tribe or city-state he represented. The poet was frequently prince, it seems, as well as propagandist and the odes are patriotic anthems as well as personal statements of affection and convictions. This colorful body of pre-Islamic poetry, comprising panegyric, satire, love poetry and elegy has aroused much interest outside the Arab world as well as within and many translations and studies of it have been undertaken.

The Koran

This early Arabian poetic heritage was not, of course, collected into its present form until the 8th and 9th centuries A.D., when scholars chiefly interested in studies of a religious, pedagogical or genealogical nature travelled widely throughout the Islamic empire in their research. Tribal, personal, academic and political rivalries were all involved in their activities and findings and even early Arabic sources therefore question the authenticity of at least part of their discoveries. The Koran itself, however, is acknowledged by all to contain, even if in its present form not arranged either chronologically or strictly by subject matter, utterances actually made by the Prophet Muhammad and learned, recorded and transmitted by his followers. Delivered from his fortieth year until his death twelve years later in 632, the 114 'sūras' (chapters) range widely in style and content. In the form of exhortations revealed by God himself via the medium of the angel Gabriel through the Prophet, the Koran reiterates the need for faith in the one, true God, His might and mercy, and affirms the inherent truth of scriptures sent down previously to Jews and Christians. Expressed in language of great power and, at times, with the rhythm and rhyme of dramatic poetry, the Koran has remained at the core of the Arabic language and the practices, still followed, of learning it by heart, chanting it in a highly-stylized choral form and studying its grammar and vocabulary as major parts of the school curricula, account perhaps more than all else for the development and literary continuity of Arabic.

Studies of the Islamic Law and Traditions

Much of the content of the Koran is addressed to the

arrangement of society and the establishment of concepts of law to apply to the Islamic community. Regulations concerning marriage, divorce, alimony, and inheritance are established in the texts and opinions delivered on judgements and penalties for infringements of personal rights and criminal conduct. Sometimes cryptic and seemingly even contradictory, some statements in the Koran required elucidation and development. The consolidation of the conquests and the establishment of Muslim governments in so many cities and the large number of converts accepting Islam necessitated constant reevaluations of the legal theories and practices on which political control rested. Muslim scholars busied themselves in establishing the details of the Prophet's personal and social relationships and comments he had made in his lifetime in order to secure the basis for the legal structure of the community. Their studies led to works of interpretation of the meaning of each word used in the Koran and to the compilation of vast compendia of "Traditions" (aḥādīth) of the Prophet. Schools of philology arose in several parts of the Muslim empire, and the collections of pre-Islamic poetry were compiled and studied as an essential part of this scholarly activity.

Classical Arabic Belles-Lettres

This same great period of expansion in Arab civilization saw the development of other genres of literature. Arabic prose found its beginnings in the translation and adaptation of animal tales and fables from Indian and Persian sources. Intended to both instruct in the arts of government the rulers and officials of the courts where they were produced, these works continued in popularity long after their beginnings under the Ummayads. Works purporting, moreover,

to be serious historical, naturalistic or sociological studies frequently contained amusing digressions and anecdotes even though the pure imaginative fantasy of the Thousand and One Nights themselves, probably dating from the late Abbasid period and from Persian origins, remained the only real example of early Arabic prose fiction before modern times.

Poetry

The popularity of poetry in ancient Arabian society continued after the coming of Islam. Anthologies have been made representing the poets of each city and court as well as the tribal poets. Panegyric, satire and elegy continued as major genres and were joined in early Ummayad times by new developments in love poetry, both platonic and courtly, that have retained popularity ever since. The composition of poetry was the most highly regarded and influential literary activity throughout the Caliphate and, indeed, until the advent of the printing press. Poetry served as a vehicle for all types of social, political, moral, philosophical and emotional themes and the great Arab poets of each era had extraordinary influence. The most gifted poets were employed by Caliphs and rival princes throughout Arab history as court propagandists and were paid handsomely for their loyalty. Their poetry was frequently delivered and recorded at court itself and later learned and spread by word of mouth over vast geographical areas. The fame of the great poets often far exceeded that of their princely patrons in their own lives. Arabic poetry from all periods is still learned and loved in every section of modern Arab society as well and constitutes, with the Koran, a continuing factor aiding in the maintenance of the

richness of the living vocabulary of the language.

Historical, Geographical, Philosophical and Scientific Writings

The acceptance and spread of Islam outwards from Mecca and Medina inevitably spurred interest in the expatriate garrison communities in the study of the Prophet himself, his mission and his battles, as well as in the tribal histories and genealogies of Arabia. The development of the legal system based so heavily on the acceptance of the personal practice of the Prophet and the early Muslim community also demanded historical research and soon a delight in the study of the past for its own sake became a factcr in spreading this scholarship. Classical Arabic literature therefore abounds in historical studies from each area and period, in many cases moving in interest focus beyond the bounds of both Islam and the Arab Middle East.

The expansion of military conquest and trade and cultural relations between the various parts of the Arab Empire necessitated the production of guide-books and geographical texts which developed into a major literary genre. The need to make a pilgrimage at least once in one's lifetime, a basic precept of Islam, also stimulated the need for practical travel information for Muslims. Similarly, the continual military engagements between conflicting Muslim princes and communities within the Arab world as well as with the Byzantines to the East and Europeans to the far West and North, must also have inspired the study of geography. A number of such works have come down and their methodology and interest focus varies widely.

The study and translations of the Greek contributions to human thought encouraged particularly under the Bagdad Caliphs,

stimulated the production of many works of philosophy. Greek neo-Platonism particularly contrasted with the strict interpretations of Islamic dogma insisted upon by the orthodox theologians and much literature resulted reflecting the intellectual turmoil of the times. Scholars of the period rarely restricted themselves to a particular discipline or area of research and frequently authored works of a remarkably wide range of diverse subjects. Works on medicine, chemistry, mathematics, music, ethics, and politics proliferated and, of course, eventually stimulated the progression of Europe from the Dark Ages into the Renaissance.

The Period of Decline in Arabic Literature

The Crusader Wars, the Mongol invasions, the constant struggles with Byzantium, all combined with internecine and religious disharmony within the Islamic community and eventually destroyed the stability and security seemingly necessary for the production of literature; by the time of the Mongol sacking of Bagdad and destruction of the Caliphate in 1258, the great period of classical Arabic literary production had already subsided. After this time individual genius found occasional expression here and there in each of the literary disciplines, especially under the continuing Arab city-states in Spain, but stagnation and retrogression were the general rule. Literary studies continued centered chiefly around the Koranic mosque schools but the orientation reverted to times and circumstances past rather than present or future. Moreover, the eventual ascendancy of the Mamluk-Caucasian slave dynasty over Egypt wherein the leadership was Turkic-speaking and illiterate in Arabic, followed by the Ottoman conquests over almost the entire Arab-Muslim world, denied the possibility of any revival of interest in Arabic as a medium for literature for several centuries.

The Influence of the Napoleonic Invasion of Egypt

There can be no doubt that the Napoleonic invasion of Egypt in 1798 was of prime importance in stimulating the beginning of the renaissance of Arabic literature in the modern age. Under Napoleon Bonaparte's three year period of occupation the power of the Turkic-speaking Mamluk beys was curtailed and members of the Egyptian-Arab mosque-and-college educated classes were encouraged to develop and expand their institutional machinery. Although, therefore, when the French withdrawal came in 1801 after constant rebellion by Egyptians against the foreign rule, French power was replaced by that of another Turkish-speaking autocrat, Muḥammad ᶜAlī, the renaissance of the Arabic-speaking community of Egypt continued to draw on both the physical and intellectual influences inspired by the Napoleonic presence. The printing press using Arabic type,apparently acquired from the Vatican, first came to the Arab world with the French expedition to serve their imperialist purposes in issuing orders and proclamations to the people of Egypt. But these very proclamations were expressed in a language and from a philosophical value system which must have been both baffling and intriguing to Egyptian Muslims of the time.

In his first proclamation, for example, prepared at Napoleon's direction while still at sea and thenpromulgated in Arabic, Turkish and French in Alexandria after the landing, reference is constantly made to the natural, God-given rights of Egyptians and contrasted with the actuality of Mamluk oppressiveness. The proclamation called upon members of the Egyptian mosque and college establishment to accept the French as "true Moslems" and the fact that Napoleon himself "worshipped God more than the Mamlukes do, and that I respect this prophet Mohammed and the admirable Koran."(1)

French military activities against the Pope and the Knights of Malta, both long-time enemies of the Muslims, along with their friendship for the Ottoman Sultan, were contrasted with Mamluk refusal to obey their Muslim Turkish suzerain. It was a deliberate attempt to undercut whatever support the Mamlukes would have normally expected from their co-religionaries against a non-Muslim invader.

Whatever temporary political success the proclamation had, and General Desaix, a field commander wrote back requesting more copies because it "produces a great effect,"(2) -- the occupation was obliged to rely heavily on force to keep the population subdued even after the defeat of the Mamluk military detachments. Established in Cairo, however, the French must have greatly stimulated Egyptian intellectual development through their remarkable scholastic, scientific and journalistic activities over the following three years. Egyptians served as aids and translators to the French officials; some travelled with the Napoleonic expeditionary forces on the campaign into Palestine in 1799 and others had opportunities to visit France itself. The Egyptian historian of the French occupation ᶜAbd al-Raḥmān al-Jabartī, gives us a good impression of the impact the establishment of the Institute of Egypt in a Cairo mansion had on the educated Muslim classes. Describing the Institute's library, he records:

"The French installed (in the house of Hassan Kyacheff) a great library, with several librarians who kept guard over the books and handed them to those readers who needed them. This library was open daily fron ten o'clock. The readers assembled in a large room next to the one where the books were kept. They sat down in chairs around large tables and started to work. Even simple privates went to work in the library. When a Muslim wished to visit the establishment, he was not prevented from doing so, but on the contrary, was made very welcome. The French were particularly pleased when a Muslim visitor showed interest in the sciences...I myself repeatedly had occasion to visit that library. I saw there, among other things, a large volume on the history of our Prophet (May God bless him!); his holy features were shown in it as faithfully as the artist's knowledge permitted...I have seen many other books, dealing with natural history, medicine, and applied

mechanics. There also were many Muslim books in French translation...Some of the French were studying Arabic and learning verses from the Koran by heart; in a word, they were great scholars and they loved the sciences, especially mathematics and philosophy. Day and night they applied themselves to learn Arabic...[3]

Literary Activity in Arabic Under the French

Although no Arabic literature saw actual printing or publication during the French occupation, the foreign presence did inspire several authors to literary activity. Sheikh ᶜAbd al-Raḥmān al-Jabartī, was born in 1756 in Cairo, apparently of Somali parentage; his father was a keen student of astronomy and mathematics. He kept a journal during the period and made observations about the occupation which he incorporated in his lengthy history of Egypt. A man of property and highly educated in the Muslim sciences at the Azhar seminary, he was attached to the country's administrative Divan and therefore was able to observe the political and intellectual scene from an advantageous central position. A voluminous study, first printed in Cairo in Arabic in four volumes as late as 1879 and translated into French in 1892, his journal is a prime source for study of Egypt of the period. The work begins with a brief summary of events up to 1142 A.H. and then follows with a chronological history of deaths of notables from 1100 A.H. The journal thereafter reports events on a daily basis, ending each year with a history of the deaths of notables that have occurred in the period with details of their achievements. The work abounds in descriptive comments and provides invaluable insights into the circumstances that al-Jabartī himself witnessed. One source suggests that an earlier printing in Arabic of the manuscript work was suppressed to prevent publication

of details concerning the reign of Muḥammad ʿAlī considered harmful to the dynasty. (4)

Intellectually stimulating as the Napoleonic presence, with all its scientific and organizational activities, must have been to Egyptian Muslims, the French failed to overcome the resentment they naturally inspired as a foreign force in a state of military occupation. Tensions between Egyptians and French remained high throughout the three-year occupation and revolts and unrest were common. The murder of General Kléber, the French commander in Egypt after Napoleon's return to France in June 1800, by a young assassin who had apparently acted with the prior knowledge of three Sheikhs of the Azhar, condemned to death with him, seems to have indicated the depth of local Muslim antagonism. Arabic literary production itself, moreover, does not seem to have been stimulated immediately by the French presence in Egypt; it is not until more than two decades after their withdrawal in 1801 that we find the beginnings of a distinct renaissance in Arabic literature.

The Muhammad ʿAlī Dynasty and the Renaissance

Despite evidences of national cohesion and consciousness among Egyptian-Muslims in their participation in anti-French activities throughout the occupation, when the withdrawal came the struggle for power in Egypt was between the two groups present with capacities for organized military engagements. Albanians formed the backbone of the Ottoman army in Egypt after the French withdrawal and the struggle for primacy over the country soon developed between them and the Mamlukes. Although heirs to centuries of military control over the country and with remnants of political and financial control and

prestige, they were no match for the Albanian officer Muḥammad ᶜAlī who had arrived in Egypt with the joint British-Ottoman expeditionary force in 1801. Despite the diplomatic support the Mamluks enjoyed from Britain, he out-maneuvered them in a series of machiavellian moves which resulted in popular pressures for his election to the office of Pasha of Egypt; by November 1805 his official status was reluctantly accepted by the Ottoman Sultan. British support for the Mamluks continued, however, and then finally took the form in 1807 of an attempt at military conquest. Muḥammad ᶜAlī was able to resist the attack and enforce a humiliating evacuation and peace treaty on the British. By 1810 he had managed to drive resisting Mamluk princes even out of Upper Egypt but they still constituted a latent opposition force of potential danger and he determined to crush them entirely. He invited the four hundred-odd principal remaining Mamluk princes to attend ceremonies to mark the beginning of an expedition into Arabia. After the ceremony, in a narrow defile in the Cairo citadel, his troops opened fire on the unsuspecting Mamlukes, killing them to a man. This action, followed by concentrated attacks on all other remaining Mamluk families, left Muḥammed ᶜAlī the only sole and undisputed ruler of the country to achieve power in many centuries.

The fact that the new autocrat was Albanian by birth, Turkish by speech and illiterate in Arabic until late in his rule precluded any possibility of his becoming an active patron of Arabic literature. But his interest in consolidating his personal power and the establishment of a family dynasty over the country demanded the continued development of both the army and the economy of his adopted state. The improvement of education within the country and encouragement of studies abroad, particularly in France, could not but eventually

lead to developments in Arabic literature as well.

The Study Missions to France

As early as 1809 small groups of students from Egypt began being sent to Italy, France and England to study a variety of military and applied sciences. Mainly Turkish-speaking and members of the court élite, their contributions were, no doubt, far more beneficial to the success of Muḥammad ᶜAlī's extraordinary military and economic adventures over the next decades than to progress in Arabic literature. Occasionally, however, an Egyptian Muslim was included and one can assume that their word-of-mouth accounts spread public awareness of and interest in European society. Nevertheless, only one impressive Arabic literary figure emerged from these study missions abroad, Sheikh Rifāᶜa Rāfiᶜ al-Ṭahṭāwī.

Rifāᶜa Rāfiᶜ al-Ṭahṭāwī (1801-1873)

He was born in 1801 in the upper Egyptian province of Girga, in the small but important town of Ṭahṭa. A trading and agricultural center, the town had a number of mosques and an impressive academic community. His family seems to have been well established in the area and the town's major mosque enshrined the tomb of al-Ṭahṭāwī's grandfather. ᶜAlī Mubārak(5) tells us that his family had been important landowners in times past and frequently filled the office of judge for the town. A financial crisis, however, caused by Muḥammad ᶜAlī's confiscation of leased lands, occurred for the family and al-Ṭahṭāwī's early years were spent in several small towns of Upper Egypt in which his father seems to have engaged in trading. On his father's death, al-Ṭahṭāwī returned to the town of his birth where he developed his studies in the Koran and related subjects. He apparently always retained a deep affection for Ṭahṭa and its

mosque circle in which he studied, returning there frequently in later life to lecture; he also published a touching tribute to the town in the introduction to one of his works. (6) At the age of 16 al-Ṭahṭāwī moved to Cairo to begin attendance at the Muslim seminary of al-Azhar. He is said to have gained much in his studies, particularly from Sheikh Ḥasan al-ᶜAṭṭār who, having worked as a teacher of Arabic and interpreter to the French occupation forces and travelled over much of the Arab world and to Greece, had a breadth of vision and of academic interests most uncommon among teachers at al-Azhar at the time. (7) Five years later al-Ṭahṭāwī submitted to the normal oral examination conducted by his professors to ascertain the range and depth of his knowledge and he was certified as having achieved the required standards. He stayed two further years teaching at al-Azhar apparently barely managing to subsist on a minimal salary and extra earnings from continuing private tutoring classes he had begun while still a student; one source refers to his mother having been forced to sell her personal jewelry to help maintain him at the college. (8) At any event he seems to have been pleased to accept appointment in 1824 as a chaplain to the Egyptian army and, over two years, served in two of the best regiments. In 1826 he was appointed, apparently on the recommendation of Sheikh al-ᶜAṭṭār, as Imam and spiritual advisor to accompany the mission of forty students delegated by Muḥammad ᶜAlī to study the sciences in Paris.

After their arrival in the French capital, al-Ṭahṭāwī, whose formal duties in serving the mission's students seem to have been both imprecise and undemanding, set about studying French. He was clearly given every encouragement in this by Edmé-François Jomard, a scholar and Membre de l'Institut who, having lived in Egypt under the Occupation

and been an editor of the great Description of Egypt, was acting as study-advisor to the group. al-Ṭahṭāwī applied himself most diligently to his studies in European affairs and the French language; within one year he had already published in Arabic an ode composed by his teacher of French, a man of Egyptian-Syrian parentage domiciled in Paris. (9) The work he wrote describing his impressions of the five years he spent in France is considered his most remarkable single contribution to Arabic literature.

First published at the government press at Būlāq in 1834, several years after his return in 1831 to assume duties as a translator attached to the College of Medicine established by Clot Bey, the work was most well received. Muḥammad ᶜAlī himself is said to have been so impressed with the study (presumably it was read aloud to him) that he ordered copies distributed and read throughout his governmental offices as well as in the schools. (10) A lengthy work, with a four-part, wordy, wide-ranging introduction abounding in poetic inserts and digressions, it is divided into six main lectures or essays, each of which in turn is subdivided into chapters. The first essay, divided into four parts, describes the progress of the voyage from Egypt to France and includes visual impressions of the coast lines and islands sighted as well as digressions on the origins of place names, the nature and cause of storms, earthquakes and so on. The second short essay describes the quarantine procedures and the period spent in Marseilles and ends with the entry into Paris. The third essay, 119 closely-printed pages in length and subdivided into thirteen chapters, provides both the major part and most impressive contribution of the work. A fifteen-page geographical description of the topology and climate of Paris is followed by nineteen pages

of description of the general characteristics, habits and activities of its inhabitants. The third chapter describes the machinery of government and the legal establishment of France and gives details of the causes and results of the French Revolution and the political turmoil of the previous several decades. Shorter successive chapters follow dealing with the author's impressions of French eating habits, dress, entertainment facilities, health care, charity organizations, the nature of trade and financial dealings, the place of religion in France and how education is conducted.

From this point onwards the work's arrangement is less impressively logical. A fourth essay deals, over six chapters, with the actual educational and testing procedures experienced by the members of the study mission and lays particular stress on al-Ṭahṭāwī's personal academic and translation successes and his excellent relationship with Jomard and other French scholars. The fifth essay, in seven parts, reverts in interest-focus to an examination of the political and governmental structure of France and details the deleterious effects and civil disorders arising from disobedience to the rule of the French monarchs. The work's final section reexamines, in greater detail, educational and pedagogical problems as diverse as theories concerning the origins and connections between various languages, to the teaching of mathematics in France.

Despite its rather unbalanced structure, it is not difficult to account for the work's enthusiastic reception in Egypt at the time it appeared. Individual topics are examined both succinctly and with wit, side-line comments being provided here and there by the inclusion of pertinent comments and relevant maxims drawn from Arabic poetry. The grammatical style and vocabulary of the body of the work is

remarkably simple for an Azhar scholar of the time and the author clearly took pains to ensure accuracy of the information he gives. In general, moreover, his approach is academic and neutral and, in general, he avoids personal judgements, especially of a critical nature, of French affairs. The original idea for the composition apparently came from Ḥasan al-ᶜAṭṭār and other friends in Cairo whose advise he sought before leaving. al-Ṭahṭāwī reports in his introduction (11) how they stressed the need for a descriptive account of Paris and life in France to serve as a guide to later Egyptian students who would travel there. This accounts for the author's ambitious attempt in the lengthy introduction, to give his readers some impression of the geographic, anthropological, cultural and religious panorama of the world and, from this, an idea of France's position within the whole. Similarly, the details of the teaching and examination techniques employed by the mission's French teachers would no doubt have been of great interest to a student audience.

al-Ṭahṭāwī spent five years working as a translator and translation teacher in the Medical and Artillery schools and in the editorship of the new Arabic version of the al-Waqāᶜi al-Miṣrīya (Egyptian Events), the official Egyptian court gazette, and then, in 1836, became head of a school established a year before specifically to train translators for government employment. The School of Languages, as it became known, graduated many qualified translators, government officials and school inspectors over the following years and was of prime importance in encouraging literary activities in Egypt. Even though oriented primarily to French and Arabic studies, Turkish, Persian, Italian and English were also taught, along with scientific and technical subjects.

Along with his administrative duties and the development of curricula at the School, al-Ṭahṭāwī was also busy in acting as an inspector of the provincial schools and in the selection for translation of works for publication at the government press at Būlāq. Scores of works over a wide range of subject and authorship were published over the next decades, mainly from French into Arabic and Turkish; these included studies of political theory and belles-lettres as well as technical and military textbooks.

The untimely death of Muḥammad ᶜAlī's son Ibrāhīm, his most able general and logical successor, brought to the throne of Egypt in 1848 his grandson ᶜAbbās 1 and his accession boded ill for both al-Ṭahṭāwī and the progress of education in the country. An ultra-orthodox Muslim separatist, ᶜAbbās closed schools, reduced the size of the army, partially disbanded the bureaucracy and curtailed the state industries. The School for Languages was allowed to decline and close and al-Ṭahṭāwī himself was dispatched to Khartoum, the provincial capital of the Sudan, ostensibly to establish an elementary school there. The new Khedive's motivation in thus effectively banishing the country's most influential intellectual figure is unclear; it is highly likely that the republication in 1849 of al-Ṭahṭāwī's Takhlīṣ , with its detailed examinations of French revolutionary ideas of freedom and democracy, as well as all the other translated materials the School had produced on political science, were seen as a threat to his own despotic rule.

In the Sudan, although clearly homesick and resentful, al-Ṭahṭāwī continued his own work in translation and textbookproduction and after the assassination of ᶜAbbās and the accession of Saᶜīd in 1854 he was able to return to Cairo. But his efforts to persuade the

ruler to reestablish his old position were unsuccessful and he was obliged to accept employment at the Military College at the Cairo Citadel. He was able, however, within the following two years to redirect its curricula and activities to resemble those of the School for Languages and the College's size and popularity increased rapidly until it too was closed in 1861. For the rest of his life, under the Khedive Ismā^{c}īl who acceeded in 1863, al-Ṭahṭāwī remained an influential figure with an advisory role within the educational machinery of the State as well as continuing his own literary, translation and journalistic activities.

Rifā^{c}a Rāfi^{c} al-Ṭahṭāwī was the author of more than a score of translations and several original works on history and educational theory as well as his Takhlīs, for which he is best known today. He may be credited with innovative work in several fields. He was one of the earliest proponents of the need for education and freedom of choice for women and evinced a deep interest in the study of sociology, anthropology and geography and their impact on political theory. In his book Manāhij al-Albāb al-Miṣrīya fī Mabāhij al-Ādāb al-^{c}Aṣrīya, (Ways for Intelligent Egyptians into the Delights of Contemporary Culture), he explored at length, as no other Arab writer had for centuries past, the nature of the ideal relationships between ruler and ruled and concepts of law and justice and how all these had practical bearing on the economic prosperity and stability within a nation. (12) His work made constant reference to "love of country" and the "nation" and he may be considered highly influential in encouraging the development of Egyptian national pride and consciousness in the 19th century.

al-Ṭahṭāwī may also be credited with the initial introduction of Greek mythological figures into modern Arabic literature through his translation of Fénelon's Les Adventures de Télémaque based on the Ulysses myth with a plot involving treachery on the part of an unjust king and the exile of the hero clearly analagous to al-Ṭahṭāwī's own exile to the Sudan. The work achieved publication in Arabic twice in Egypt and once in Beirut in his lifetime. al-Ṭahṭāwī was not solely interested, however, in the large-scale introduction of educational and cultural influences from Europe. He is also said to have actively encouraged the printing at the government press at Būlāq of some of the Arabic classics. It was at this time that manuscript works as diverse as Ibn Khaldūn's work of interpretative history, the Muqaddima and the Thousand and One Nights first became printed in Arabic. He was, moreover, a stylistic innovator of great influence in the later development of Arabic prose. He wrote in a simple, unadorned style, shunning the use of the rhymed prose, balanced phrases and rarities of vocabulary so popular among his predecessors and contemporaries. His objective in all his works was the clear communication of ideas, those of others and his own, and he was remarkably successful in this.

ᶜAlī Pasha Mubārak

The magnitude of al-Ṭahṭāwī's achievement may be measured in part by the fact that no figure of comparable importance emerged into Arabic literature from Egypt throughout his long lifetime. Many individuals did contribute, of course, to the diverse translation activities of the mid-century and thereafter, and original works on a variety of scientific and technical subjects, as well as in the

traditional Muslim sciences and descriptions of European travel and residence, proliferated in Arabic. Nevertheless, ᶜAlī Pasha Mubārak (1824-93) al-Ṭahṭāwī's junior by a score of years, was the only other Egyptian literary figure of the period of comparable production and dedication. He, too, studied in Paris with governmental support but his career was chiefly spent in the practical, non-intellectual pursuits of active service with the Egyptian contingent to the Crimean War (1854-6) and in administration of public works projects within Egypt. Unlike al-Ṭahṭāwī, moreover, ᶜAlī Mubārak became part of the formal governmental hierarchy of Egypt and, at various times, was in control of several important Ministries, including those of Education and Public Works. He made a particularly valuable contribution to literary studies, moreover, by founding in 1870 Egypt's first national library and donating to it a number of manuscripts.

ᶜAlī Pasha Mubārak was the author of a number of military manuals of minor literary interest but also contributed a four-volume comprehensive reference work on the geography, economy and governmental and educational establishment of the Egypt of his time. His other works include a study analyzing and explaining the metric system and even a work in fictional form. His ᶜAlam al-Dīn (Alexandria 1882) must be considered one of the earliest attempts at the use of fiction in modern Arabic. In his introduction Mubārak points to the great public interest in story reading as the source of his desire to write the work. Its central theme traces the rather unexceptional life of a young Muslim from his home in Upper Egypt through his studies at al-Azhar, his marriage and family affairs and his experiences travelling in Egypt. Filled with lengthy passages extolling the virtues of learning and progress and examining social

and religious ideas, the veneer of fiction provides only a thin disguise over the author's educational and sociological messages. Much of the work consists of dialogues between the central characters and a British tourist with whom they come in contact.

Beginnings of the Literary Revival in Syria

Egypt was not the only area of the Arab world moving quickly under external stimuli towards the development of a new intellectual and literary life. Syria and Lebanon had experienced constant diplomatic trade and tourist contacts with European countries for centuries before without notable development resulting in Arabic literature. But in the early 19th century, with Napoleon's attempt at invasion and the subsequent British intervention and all the turmoil of the campaigns of Muhammad Alī in the area, external pressures were developing so strongly that internal developments in many areas of the life of the country were sure to follow. Moreover, it was during this period that Christian missionary and especially American Protestant groups began proselytizing and establishing schools and printing presses in Syria and their educational influences were both immediate and lasting. The calalytic effects of their presence and their influence in the development of Arabic literature and journalism in particular, may be demonstrated clearly through the life and work of another extraordinary figure of the period.

Aḥmad Fāris al-Shidyāq (1804 or 01-1887)

Aḥmad Fāris al-Shidyāq, was born in the village of ᶜAshqūt in the Kasrawān region of north-central Lebanon. Supporters and proteges of the Shihābī princes, his Maronite family came into conflict

with the powerful local Catholic establishment through the conversion of one of its young men to Protestantism. The imprisonment and death of his elder brother As^{c}ad while confined in a monastary, led Fāris himself to rebel and establish contact, following completion of his schooling at the Maronite college of ^{c}Ain Waraqa, with the American mission school in Beirut. Resulting pressures apparently soon forced al-Shidyāq into exile and he spent a period of nine years studying Arabic and cooperating with al-Ṭahṭāwī in the editing of the Egyptian Gazette. While in Egypt he married the daughter of a prominent Syrian émigré. He next travelled to Malta where he became director and translator for the American mission's Arabic printing press. After a stay of fourteen years there, during which time he completed several impressive literary works, he travelled to England where he was employed, chiefly in Cambridge, assisting in the translation of the New Testament into Arabic. He also spent a period of years travelling in Europe and living in Paris where he studied French and wrote his autobiography. There, too, he made contact with Ahmad the Bey of Tunis, who invited him to establish North Africa's first Arabic newspaper. Having now become a Muslim, apparently a condition of employment, and added the name "Aḥmad" to his given name, he travelled to Tunis and established there the Gazette al-Rā 'id al-Tūnisī.

His next move was to Constantinople where, in 1861, he founded a weekly Arabic-language journal. This may be considered the first non-governmental newspaper of far-reaching importance to appear in Arabic. It continued in publication in Constantinople until 1883 when the tense political situation made its removal to Cairo advisable. His son, Salīm, continued publication there for several years, Aḥmad Fāris himself having returned to the Ottoman capital after a brief

stay in Egypt. His death occurred there in 1887 and his body was returned to Lebanon for burial, as he had requested.

al-Shidyāq contributed a number of stimulating original works to Arabic literature apart from his activities in journalism. In Malta in 1839 he published a voluminous dictionary of Arabic synonyms preceded by an abridged grammar and two years later he published there a work entitled Sharḥ Ṭabā'i^{c} al-Ḥayawān (Commentary on the Nature of Animals), the translation of part of an English school text on natural history. In this same period he also published a geographical and sociological description of Malta and a series of studies on Arabic lexicography.

In Paris in 1855 he published what has become his best known single work, al-Sāq ^{c}alā al-Sāq fī mā huwa al-Fāriyāq (Travels and Adventures of al-Fariaq). Republished in Cairo in 1919 and 1920 and again in Beirut in 1966, the work is a witty and whimsical autobiographical potpourri containing impressions of his first fifty years, including details of his early life in Lebanon and Egypt. In 1865 he published in Tunis his Kashf al-Mukhabba' ^{c}an Funūn Urubbā (Disclosure of the Arts of Europe), his second major work, and its success is demonstrated by its republication in Constantinople in 1881; it apparently became a standard work of reference throughout Arab literary society. It provides analytical and critical descriptions of European society based on observations made over his years of residence and is interspersed with comments on the relative levels of social and political life there and in the Arab countries.

Apart from these major works, he also contributed several voluminous studies of Arabic grammar and lexicography, a memoir on the life of his brother As^{c}ad, an introductory text, with a French co-author, on French grammar and many thousands of lines of poetry. Moreover, several

of his manuscripts remain still unpublished and others were apparently lost in an accidental fire.

It is al-Shidyāq's Leg over Leg that provides the best proof of sheer literary genius; the work is a true tour de force, perhaps the most brilliant as well as provocative Arabic work of the 19th century. Both its style and subject matter are lively and intriguing and it is filled with amusing, perceptive and sometimes caustic comments on an incredible variety of topics. Intended primarily as humorous entertainment, it is the book's linguistic artistry and quick change of focus and pace that provides its chief fascination. Its deliberate crudities and mixture of praise and satire of women, its calculated irreverence for organized religion, as well as social institutions, tell much of al-Shidyāq's freedom of spirit and, of course, his apparent ego-centrism.

The work provides, in a sense, an attempt at bridging the different styles and forms of Arabic literature; it combines some of the linguistic elegance, the wit and the anecdotal skill of the classical genius al-Jāḥiẓ, with lines of poetry and rhymed prose so favored in later Arabic literature along with an interest shared by his more prosaic literary contemporaries in examining social, political and educational aspects of the changing life of the beginnings of the industrial age.

Beginning with an introduction of over one-hundred lines of fatuous but polished poetry, the work is divided into four parts of unequal length. Within this general framework, the interest focus changes from mainly autobiographical, to geographical-social, to psychological-emotional and ends with a fourth part in which all these subjects are jumbled and further examined. Within each of these

interest areas al-Shidyāq digresses widely into minutely meticulous discussions of vocabulary oddities; he delights in giving lists of synonyms. His work demonstrates a passion for the Arabic language for its own sake and provides a mine of information on the language of his time. The tone of the book in this regard is set immediately, with the book's first eleven successive words all being individual synonyms for the imperative of the idea: "be quiet"; after the list of synonyms, some obscure, the author announces that he has begun his composition! Other digressions into vocabulary niceties follow throughout. In one passage, for example, he gives a glossary of nautical terms and in another examines, over more than a score of pages, words used specifically to describe items of personal decoration and home furnishings.

al-Shidyāq's work frequently suggests that a motivation, perhaps subconscious, for his writings was to establish and affirm a sense of Arab pride at a time when so many of his contemporaries were assuming that European culture was fundamentally and inately superior and therefore should serve as a model. Perhaps this may account for his stressing and demonstrating the extraordinary richness and complexity of the Arabic language itself. His comments on life in Europe, it is interesting to observe, given mainly in his analytical work: Kashf al-Mukhabbaᶜ ᶜan Funūn Urubbā (Disclosure of the Arts of Europe)first published in Tunis in 1865, also gave far greater emphasis to the negative and critical; his long passage of description of the philanthropic societies in England, complete with numbers and operating costs, deals with almost the sole area of British life he found commendable. His comments on the complex social stratification of the British, the "slowness of their intellects", their super-patriotic

attitudes, the elitism of their school system and the lack of enthusiasm for learning in the universities, hypocrisy in religious practices and the excessive power of the clergy, are all bitingly critical. (13) Even European women are viewed with great criticism by al-Shidyāq, despite the delighted interest he shows throughout his works in discussing relationships between the sexes and the attributes of woman. His Leg over Leg ends, moreover, with an attack on the attitudes of European orientalists and a lengthy listing of all the errors he had detected in a published French edition of al-Ḥarīrī's Maqāmāt. We are also told that he made a point of keeping to full traditional Arab dress throughout the years of his residence in Britain and Europe and this too perhaps indicates his superiority-inferiority complex.

Aḥmad Fāris al-Shidyāq, whose elder brother Tannūs (1794-1861) wrote a two-volume history of the activities of the feudal princes of Lebanon, rose, for all his earlier literary genius, into greatest prominence and influence through the medium of journalism. The difficulties in understanding his tortuous prose, with all its display of lexicographical diversity, must have restricted the popularity of his work to a small literary elite. But his journal al-Jawā'ib(Responses) achieved a wide audience, not only in Constantinople but throughout the Ottoman-Arab empire. Apparently referred to in the foreign diplomatic community as the "Times of the Orient", it reported news items of political and cultural activities in Europe as well as the Ottoman empire and also included a variety of articles and essays on social, literary and linguistic matters by the editor himself. As is shown in the seven volumes of selections drawn from the journal published by his son Salīm al-Shidyāq over the

years 1871-1881, the material demonstrates an impressive concern for accuracy and a broad coverage of major diplomatic and political events of the time.

The Continuing Development of Education in Greater Syria

Aḥmad Fāris al-Shidyāq had left Lebanon at the very beginning of the revival and expansion of educational facilities there. During the course of the rest of his life this development continued rapidly, even amidst all the military and inter-communal strife of the mid-19th century in the area. The invasion of the Egyptian army of Muḥammad ᶜAlī led by his son Ibrāhīm itself resulted in educational reforms that, although vacillating in impact, maintained a generally constant forward progression. The Muḥammad ᶜAlī colonial administration of Syria sought an over-all development on the contemporary Egyptian model; French and American missionary schools competed in seeking the spread of Catholic and Protestant educational values, while the local, old-established and moribund schools attached to the local Christian denominational churches and the Mosque-schools, came to new life in response to these external stimuli.

As a result of all these pressures, the educational facilities over greater Syria expanded dramatically. The administration of Ibrāhīm Pasha is said to have established primary schools throughout the country and colleges for Muslim students in Damascus, Aleppo and Antioch whose influence as an example lived on after the collapse of the educational system itself, following the Egyptian withdrawal after six years, in 1840. The American missionary activities were more influential in the areas closer to the sea and their first schools were established in Beirut and Jerusalem. The missionary presses

were moved from Malta to Beirut and particularly directed towards the production of manuals and books for use in their own schools as well as the printing of the new Arabic translation of the Bible they had commissioned. Teachers were trained in their own facilities and by the 1860's they had established more than thirty schools attended by approximately one thousand students. (14) Their schools admitted girls as well as boys, moreover. In 1866 they established the first institution of higher learning in Lebanon and their Syrian Protestant College formed the nucleus of today's American University of Beirut. Arabic was the language of instruction throughout the curricula, including medicine, in the early years and the college clearly had great influence in the revival of interest and competence in the language and its literary revival.

Catholic missionary activities in the area were mainly conducted by the Jesuit orders, which had already a long if sporadic history of educational involvement in Lebanon. Early in this same period they established schools in Beirut, Ghazīr and Zahleh and later, in the 1870's, new schools in Damascus and Aleppo. In 1875 they transferred their school facilities from Ghazīr and expanded them to become the University of St. Joseph. The influence of these schools in developing interest in Arabic language and literature rivals, if not exceeds, that of the Protestant missionaries and they too established excellent printing facilities, specializing particularly in the production of edited texts of the great classics of Arabic. The Lazarist and Dominican orders were also active in developing the educational system of the area.

The "al-Madrasat al-Waṭanīya"; Buṭrus al-Bustānī and his Family

As well as these schools affiliated to non-Arab religious foundations, a number of non-denominational establishments were founded by individual Arab intellectuals of the era. Some were of primary and lasting influence in the development of Arabic literature, perhaps the most important being the 'al-Madrasat al-Waṭanīya' (The National School) founded by Buṭrus al-Bustānī at which a comparably great literary figure, Nāṣīf al-Yāzijī, also taught.

Buṭrus al-Bustānī (1819-1883) must be considered, even apart from his role as educational innovator, the most influential Syrian literary figure of the period. He was born to a large and ancient Maronite family with strong church connections in the village of al-Dabiyah, near the important mountain town of Dair al-Qamar. He was sent, after primary studies, for ten years of higher education at the Maronite college of ᶜAin Waraqa and there he learned Syriac, Latin and Italian as well as receiving an extensive grounding in the humanities and sciences, divinity and law. Graduating at the age of twenty, his earlier plans to continue study in Italy under Church sponsorship were not fulfilled and he began teaching at the college.

Moving away from the serious civil unrest of the mountain region to Beirut, he made contact with the American Protestant missionaries and acted as translator and Arabic teacher on their behalf. He also began the study of Hebrew and Greek as well as English. Having eventually converted to Protestantism, al-Bustānī taught for the missionary group for fifteen years in Beirut and for two years at their school at ᶜAbay that he helped found. It was in 1863 that he established his 'National School' with the express purpose of

providing an environment for the study and development of Arabic literary culture disassociated from sectarian affiliation.

al-Bustānī was a person of prodigious learning and is best remembered for his dictionary and encyclopedia work and for his influence in developing Arabic journalism. In 1860, anguished by the terrible massacres and disorders throughout the country, he began publishing a weekly political journal, the first in Syria, the Nafīr Sūrīya (Clarion of Syria) calling for peace and mutual understanding between the Arabic-speaking Christian, Muslim and Druse inhabitants of the Lebanese mountains. He later founded a literary magazine al-Jinān (Gardens), published from 1870 to 1886, and two newspapers al-Janna (Paradise) and al-Jinīn (The Seed). Containing translations from Western fiction as well as informed, liberal comment on religious, social, political and educational matters, the three did much to convince Arab intellectuals that story-writing was a valid and commendable field. He was the author of two school text books, one on the teaching of mathematics, his Kashf al-Ḥijāb ᶜan ᶜIlm al-Ḥisāb (Unveiling the Science of Mathematics), and a second on Arabic grammar, the Miṣbāḥ al-Tālib (The Students' Lamp). He also published in 1869 a voluminous dictionary based on the classical writer al-Fīrūzabādī's al-Muḥīṭ (The Ocean) which he entitled Muḥīṭ al-Muḥīṭ (Ocean Around the Ocean); this he also abridged and republished in more practical form for student use.

His most ambitious undertaking was the multi-volume Dā'irat al-Maᶜārif (Encyclopedia) he began. Arranged in alphabetical order, its first volume was published in 1873 and six volumes were completed by al-Bustānī's death in 1883; his son Salīm had published

two more parts before he too died the following year. Other sons and a nephew Sulaimān continued the work but it remains incomplete to this day after publication of eleven volumes, having reached no further than the word "ᶜuthmānīya", barely two-thirds of the alphabet having been explored.

Buṭrus al-Bustānī was active in a wide variety of literary fields apart from these. He cooperated with the American missionaries Eli Smith and Dr. Cornelius van Dyck in translating the Bible and a number of lectures he gave, including one on the education of women as early as 1849, were published. He also wrote a critical edition on the poems of al-Mutanabbī, published in Beirut in 1860, and is credited with a history of the exploits of Napoleon Bonaparte and an adaptation on the story Robinson Crusoe.

Salīm and Sulaimān al-Bustānī

Two other blood relatives of Buṭrus al-Bustānī, both educated at the "National School", were to make notable contributions to Arabic literature. The first, Salīm, a son of Buṭrus, was born in 1847 and acquired good Turkish, English and French as well as Arabic. He, like his father, spend a period working as a translator at the American Consulate in Beirut and eventually succeeded his father as headmaster at the college he founded. He was also active in contributing editorial help and articles and translations on a variety of social and literary subjects to his father's journalistic ventures and he also assisted in Buṭrus' work in dictionary and encyclopedia compilation. His early death, however, at the age of thirty-seven, prevented him developing into a major literary figure. His most notable contribution was the publication, in the journal

al-Jinān in 1870, of the first attempt in Arabic at the novel form. Entitled al-Hiyām fī Jinān al-Shām (Wanderings in the Gardens of Syria), the story staged the incredibly dramatic and adventure-filled love story of Sulaimān and Warda, star-crossed lovers. The characters are idealized and stereotyped and the plot is full of unlikely coincidence and sudden drama. The action is constantly broken, moreover, by passages in which the author expresses his ideas on morality, education and material progress in the society of his time and the influence from Europe becoming so pervasive.

Sulaimān al-Bustānī (1856-1925), a nephew of Buṭrus, was born in the Lebanese village of Bekashtīn. He attended village schools before moving down to Beirut to the "National School". There he continued his studies of Arabic and Syriac and began French, English and Italian and all the usual range of other subjects. He had a deep early love for literature and, after eight years, he graduated with such honors that he was himself appointed a teacher there. He began writing contributions for the journals established by his uncle as well as continuing his language studies in, we are told, German, Spanish, Latin, Greek, both Ancient and Modern, Hungarian and Portuguese.

His love for Arabic made him determined to visit the places mentioned in the classics of the early literature and Islam. He travelled first to Iraq and then to the Arabian peninsula, where he lived with and studied tribal life. He dwelt for a period in Basra, both in teaching and working within the date industry, and later moved to Baghdad, where he occupied several important posts under Midhat Pasha, the Ottoman reformist leader. He also had later opportunities

to travel to Yemen and the southern coasts of Arabia, as well as to live in Turkey and Egypt; he even visited the United States, apparently as chief Ottoman representative at the Turkish pavilion at the Chicago World Fair.

Sulaimān al-Bustānī published a number of anthropological and linguistic studies for the learned journals of the time in his early years but is best remembered for his translation of Homer's Iliad into Arabic verse. The work of translation was a labor of love that was completed only after sixteen years effort, the major part being accomplished during residence in India, Persia and Iraq. He also wrote a multi-volume History of the Arabs and a book of memoirs in which he commented on the turmoil throughout the Ottoman empire he had witnessed in his travels.

Nāṣīf al-Yāzijī (1800-1871) and his sons

The "National School" of the Bustanīs owed much of its high reputation, especially in Arabic studies, to the presence on its teaching faculty of Nāṣīf al-Yāzijī. Born in the small village of Kafr-Shima of a middle-class Maronite family, he was largely self-taught by reading widely in the manuscript collections in monasteries from an early age. He joined the secretarial staff of the Amir Bashīr Shihāb 11 in 1828. Serving the prince over a period of twelve years, al-Yāzijī both contributed to and gained much from the literary activities of the court circle. The period then coming to an end had been one when the Maronite and Druze communities had welded together under one strong political leadership more effectively than ever before; (15) the court had provided valuable patronage for literary production and the schools had improved.

The defeat of the Egyptian administration over Syria, however, leading to the exile in Malta of the Amīr, resulted in al-Yāzijī moving down to Beirut in 1840. There he taught, translated and composed text books for the American mission and devoted himself to disciplined literary production, especially writing poetry and studying the great poets of classical Arabic. He became the most widely known and admired Syrian poet of his time and his home became an important and popular salon and focus for the literary community. His friendship and cooperation with Buṭrus al-Bustānī in both the teaching activities of the "National School" and the encyclopedia compilation further extended his reputation.

al-Yāzijī is best known for his rhymed prose adventure-ballads styled on the Maqāmāt (Lectures) of al-Ḥarīrī, the great classical poet of Basra; the work was first published under the title Majmaᶜ al-Baḥrain (Confluence of the Two Seas) at Beirut in 1856. His other works include an anthology of poetry, a treatise on logic and several studies of Arabic grammar. He also published a critical edition of the poetry of al-Mutanabbī and several works on prosody and versification. He interested himself, moreover, in the study of history and a volume he wrote on the feudal system of Lebanon was published in 1936. The brilliance and dedication of his writings, all in traditional fields of Arabic, did much to renew pride of Arabs in the greatness of their classical literature and he became a symbol and focal point for those intellectuals wishing to resist the incoming flood of Western cultural influences. A feeling of pride in Lebanon as a distinct national entity is also apparent in his verses in honor of the Amīr Bashīr.

The al-Yāzijī Family

Like his friend Buṭrus al-Bustānī, Nāṣīf al-Yāzijī had sons and even a daughter who distinguished themselves as literary figures in their own right. His son Khalīl, who died in 1889, wrote a poetic tragedy on the theme of honor and trustworthiness in early Arabia and a daughter, Warda, who died in 1924, was one of the best known poetesses of the 19th century Arabic renaissance. Ibrāhīm, his eldest son, however, who died in 1906 achieved the greatest literary fame of his progeny.

Born in 1847, he grew up amidst the literary circle established by his father, who personally supervised his education and ensured his achieving a fine standard of Arabic; he also studied French, Hebrew and Syriac as well as Islamic Law. He himself taught Arabic for a period at Beirut Maronite schools and spent eight years assisting the Jesuit missionaries refine their translation of the Bible. He was also active in journalism and began editorship of the literary-political magazine al-Miṣbāh (The Lamp) in 1873 and the medical journal al-Ṭabīb (The Doctor) in 1884. Ten years later he emigrated to Egypt and helped found there the magazine al-Bayān (The Statement or Eloquence , an epithet applied to the Koran), and then personally established the influential journal al-Diyā' (Light), which continued to appear until his death in 1906.

Ibrāhīm al-Yāzijī's own articles published in these journals covered a broad range of subjects - - philology, grammar, the history of languages and even astronomy and in book form he published a two-volume study of philology (1906). He is noteworthy in the early history of Arab nationalism for having been an active member of the

secret anti-Ottoman societies formed in Beirut in the 1870's. He delivered at one of their meetings an emotional ode denouncing sectarianism, criticizing the Ottoman government and calling for a new Arab pride based on an awareness of past Arab glory, that won immediate fame and apparently had great influence at the time;(16) the ode is still, moreover, widely known today.

Growing Resentments in Egypt - al-'Afghanī and his Muslim Reformist Disci

Much of the history of Egypt in the modern era may be viewed as a gradual and uneven progression towards the acquisition of political, administrative and economic control over the country by the indigenous, Arabic-speaking Muslim majority of the population. Despite the material progress brought by the Muḥammad ᶜAlī dynasty and their attempts to establish a European-style monarchy with all the trappings, the flags and anthems of a national patriotism, to the majority of Egyptians the Court and the ruling circles of the aristocracy, the administration and the Army officer corps must have remain alien and unloved. The élite of Albanian, Turkish and Circassian origins around the throne and in the financial and large-landowning classes all remained dominant through the first three-quarters of the 19th century in Egypt when, due to land reforms, growing prosperity and a broader-based educational system, an indigenous Egyptian Middle Class was also developing. Resentment at high taxation, the imperious, dictatorial and seemingly irresponsible rule of the Khedives, their financial mismanagements and the excessive influence they permitted foreign, non-Muslim, European forces to have over the conduct of life in Egypt, had already built to an appreciable level when a remarkable Muslim evangelist and reformer, Jamāl al-Dīn al-Afghānī,

appeared on the intellectual scene in Cairo in the 1870's.

Jamāl al-Dīn al-'Afghānī (1839?-1897)

Details of the early life of al-Afghānī are difficult to establish and the numerous studies published in European languages as well as Arabic reach no concensus. (17) While the majority agree on his likely birth date as being 1839 or thereabouts, the event is thought most likely to have taken place in As'adabād, near Ḥamadān, in Persia or, alternatively, in Afghanistān; much less likely origins in Turkey and India have also been suggested. Similarly the status of his family is unclear; he himself maintained that he was from a landowning aristocratic Afghan family with a lineal descent from the Prophet Muḥammad's grandson Ḥusain, a version accepted in general by the Arab biographers. The other possibility is that his family was of Persian stock and that he was probably educated at Qazvīn and Tehrān and also studied at the Shī^{c}ī shrine cities of Iraq. The period, with the impact of Western economic and military power being heavily felt throughout the area, was one of rapid change and intellectual turmoil, with the Shaikhī and later Bābī movements having deep impact on religious philosophy. Both the content and dynamism of al-Afghānī's own later religious teachings seem to have paralleled, if not been inspired by, the activist and meliorist reform ideas on which these philosophies were based and of which he must have been aware, irrespective of the precise location of his birth or upbringing.

Little certain has been established about his early manhood years. All sources agree, however, that he spent a period in India in his late teens; he may have been present there during the Indian Mutiny of 1857 and no doubt was sympathetic to the anti-British

sentiments being expressed in the conflict by the Muslim community whose privileged position the British presence was destroying. After travels to Mecca and possibly Istanbul, al-Afghānī spent a period of several years in Afghanistan in an advisory position with Az'am Khan, a claimant to the country's rule. After the defeat of his patron and Shīr ᶜAlī Khān's assumption of power in 1868, al-Afghānī left the country for short stays in Bombay and Cairo before taking a position with the Council of Education in Istanbul. A speech he delivered in a lecture series at the University discussing Islamic philosophy and the nature of prophecy offended the religious dignitaries of the Ottoman capital and they used it to bring pressure on the government to both deport al-Afghānī and close the university.

Arriving in Cairo in 1871, al-Afghānī received the patronage of an influential politician, Muṣṭafā Riyāḍ Pasha and was awarded support from government funds and given an appointment to teach at al-Azhar. There he gradually established a reputation as both a learned exponent of medieval Muslim philosophy and an original and eloquent spokesman for reform in contemporary Islamic life. His circle of students and devotees expanded to include some of the most remarkable figures in Egyptian intellectual and literary life of the period. Discontent at government policies and the over-influence of the British and French financial circles was expanding during the period and al-Afghānī was able to become a focal point, through his fearless oratory, for its expression. Freemasonry had by that time spread to the country and al-Afghānī was prominent for a period in their activities; in 1878 he was elected head of the Eastern Star Lodge.

al-Afghānī must clearly have favored the deposition, enforced by the British and French in June 1879, of the Khedive Ismāʿīl, who had done so much to deliver Egypt into foreign control, but he failed to achieve the trust of his successor, Tawfīq. Further political agitation and oratory before large audiences, we are told, in Cairo's major mosques, led to his expulsion from Egypt in August 1879 on the grounds that he had sought to subvert the country by leading a secret society of violent young men united in desiring, as the official indictment published in al-Ahrām of August 28, 1879 charged, the "ruin of the religion and the state", presumably a reference to his earlier Masonic activities.

From Egypt al-Afghānī went again to India, spending, it seems, two years in teaching and discussing philosophy and politics mainly with the Western-oriented liberal-moderate reformers like Sir Sayyid Aḥmad Khān in the Muslim state of Hyderabad. After the crisis in Egypt and the downfall of the ʿUrābī rebellion, al-Afghānī left for Europe, arriving for a brief stay in London early in 1883 and then soon travelling to Paris. There he made contact with Orientalist scholars and engaged in a published philosophical discussion with Ernest Renan, the student of the histories of languages and religions, and contributed to anti-British Arabic and French language publications. In 1884 he was joined in Paris by Muḥammad ʿAbduh, one of his Egyptian students at al-Azhar, exiled for complicity in the disorders at the time of the ʿUrābī rebellion. Together they began publication of the al-ʿUrwat al-Wuthqā (The Strongest Link) an anti-British and pan-Islamic sheet of comment on Islam and current events; it was soon banned from entry into Egypt and ceased publication after eight months.

A period spent in London at the invitation of Wilfrid Scawen Blunt, who believed that al-Afghānī could be a useful intermediary for British contacts with the Ottoman government over the Sudanese question, resulted in no success and he soon left Europe for Persia. After a short stay in Tehran he next moved to Russia where he was active in propaganda against the British in India. He seems to have acted also as an intermediary between the Persian and Iranian governments in attempts to dissuade the Shah from granting important economic concessions to British interests that were under negotiation at the time. Moving to Iran himself, following the death of his major Russian patron, al-Afghānī became the center of a group in opposition to government policies and his influence grew to the extent that finally the Shah felt obliged to have him deported. The religious and scholarly establishment of Iran was particularly enraged that the sanctuary where he had taken refuge had been violated in enforcing his deportation and consequently their opposition to the Shah and his policy of granting concessions to non-Muslim foreigners gathered strength. Travelling through Iraq and reaching London in 1892, al-Afghānī maintained contact from abroad with the Iranian protest and reform movements and contributed letters and appeals for cancellation of the concessions and the deposion of Nāṣir al-Dīn Shāh.

From London al-Afghānī moved to Istanbul at the Sultan's invitation and, it seems, was employed there writing on behalf of his anti-imperialist, pan-Islamic propaganda. In May 1896 an Iranian tailor who claimed to be a disciple of al-Afghānī assassinated the Shah and, probably as a result of Iranian pressures for his extradition and the Sultan's own feelings of insecurity, he was

placed under house arrest. He died the following year, still confined to his house, in Istanbul.

The extraordinary difficulties in assessing the real nature and importance of al-Afghānī's political maneuverings, in all their complexity in so many centers of power, are matched by comparable difficulties in attempting to define the extent of his influence on Islamic theology and Arabic literature. His published works are both less voluminous and less revealing than one might have expected from so active and inspiring a figure. It seems clear, however, that his ideas and teachings were so frequently opposed to both the power structure and religious establishment of the cities where he resided that, if available in written form, they would have provided damaging ammunition for his many enemies. He seems to have been highly circumspect in this regard and only his journalistic materials published in Paris in the early eighties and his al-ᶜUrwat al-Wuthqā articles and his Risāla fī Ibṭāl Madhhab al-Dahrīyīn (Epistle in Refutation of the Materialists) were published in his lifetime. Few later materials have come to light, moreover, and the only other major source is the Khāṭirāt Jamāl al-Dīn al-Afghānī (Reflections) by Muḥammad al-Makhzūmī (1868-1930) published long after his death by a Syrian who knew him in Istanbul during the period following his arrival there in 1892. This work purports to consist of verbatim reports of conversations between the two and contains biographical material as well as comments and opinions on a variety of political, social and philosophical issues.

From the ᶜUrwat al-Wuthqā articles we can get a good idea of al-Afghānī's range of interests even if we cannot precisely determine which are his own and which Muḥammad ᶜAbduh's compositions; they were

not signed individually. Published in Arabic in Paris over eight months in 1884 and apparently distributed free, the materials consist of over one hundred articles, each short enough to make in total a volume of some four hundred pages. (18) The articles range widely in subject. Less than half of the essays deal with comparative religion and examine religious philosophy and the personal values encouraged by religion, as well as Islamic unity and the nature of the theory and practice of Islamic political structures. The large majority of the articles dealt with political issues and personalities of most interest to Egyptian readers of the time. Many articles analyzed British objectives and strategies in the Middle East and devoted much space to assessments of the situation in the Sudan following the rise of the Mahdi. Some articles dealt with individual personalities --General Gordon and Ismāʿīl Pasha, for example, and others described such institutions as the British parliament. The majority of the essays are journalistic and propagandist in spirit rather than careful, thoughtful and accurate analyses.

The second major literary work, the Epistle in Refutation of the Materialists is scarcely more revealing of the true nature of al-Afghānī's beliefs. It too is essentially didactic and argumentative and ranges rather widely over a great range of human belief-systems. The work is in the form of a letter to a man who has requested al-Afghānī's opinion on the Neicheri religious-philosophic system achieving some popularity in India at the time; al-Afghānī himself had had discussions with them in Hyderabad after his expulsion from Egypt. Al-Afghānī's purpose in the Epistle is to prove that the Neicheri philosophies were essentially similar to all belief systems not dependent upon the acceptance of the existence of a single

Divine Creator. Their theories, he argues, are merely an extension of both the philosophies of the Greek materialists in ancient times and the Darwinists in the modern age. After stressing and proving over several pages the practical need of mankind for religious beliefs in order to maintain a stable society and to constantly seek self-improvement to achieve the reward of a happy afterlife, he specifies a "sense of shame", "trustworthiness" and "honesty" to be the qualities essential to human society provided by religious belief. His attack on the Neicheries then demonstrates that by deliberately denying validity to these qualities and stressing personal pleasure-seeking and the pursuit of what they call "nature" they encourage anarchy and ultimate destruction of civilization. He goes on to ascribe to the material philosophers the decline of the empires of the Greeks, the Romans, the Persians, the Arabs and even the disorders following the rise of the French Revolution and the troubles of the Ottoman Empire itself. The Mormons are also mentioned in passing as prime examples of Neicheri philosophers. The Epistle comes to an end with a lengthy arguementative summation in which he reaffirms the need of both man and his society for religion and argues that Islam is clearly superior to all religions in affirming more strongly than any other the unity of God, the equality of man and the primacy of reason.

That there are inherent contradictions between this spirited defense of the virtues of religion and Islam written in Persian apparently in India in 1880 and the Answer to Renan (19) written in French and published in Paris in May 1883 in the Journal des Débats, is clear. His reply to Renan's article attacking the deleterious

effects of Islam on Eastern society made no attempt to refute the main argument but merely extended the attack to all religions and offered additional observations and proofs. Whether the gulf between the two attitudes expressed demonstrates a change or progression in his thinking, perhaps inspired by further travels and influenced by what he had learned in Europe, is unclear. The Epistle found its way into Arabic as early as 1885 whereas the translator, his disciple Muḥammad ᶜAbduh, referred in a letter to the inadvisability of transmitting the Answer to Renan to the Islamic world (20) and it does not yet seem to have appeared in Arabic even to this day. Consequently, there is no consensus observable in attitudes expressed by Arab and non-Arab scholars to the work of al-Afghānī. He is uniformly depicted by Arab writers as one of the greatest reformers of Islam, a heroic, selfless crusader with a distinct tendency towards traditional orthodoxy, a leader in the struggle for Eastern independence from Western imperialism as well as a liberal pan-Arab and Islamic nationalist. Western observers, on the other hand, both his contemporaries like Blunt and later Orientalists, have tended to view him as a self-centered radical and revolutionary, a man of admittedly extraordinary magnetism and charisma but one whose religious beliefs were rationalist, pragmatic and theist, if not atheist, more than orthodox Islamic.

Muḥammad ᶜAbduh

Al-Afghānī's efforts to change the nature of Islamic society and prepare it to achieve independence from foreign influence were clearly lacking in success during his own lifetime. His checkered career of wandering from capital to capital expelled by one government after the other, combined with his scanty and somewhat contradictory literary productions would no doubt have resulted in his holding a merely minor if dramatic and colorful role in the history of the development of modern Arabic thought if it were not for his extraordinary relationship with his pupil and disciple Muḥammad ᶜAbduh. The influence of ᶜAbduh's work in bringing about subtle but far-reaching changes in Islamic thought and in the educational and legal systems of Egypt, has proved very significant and much of the credit in developing his view of life and Islam must go to al-Afghānī, whom he knew intimately for over a decade.

Muḥammad ᶜAbduh was born in a village of the Nile delta in 1849 into a family of modest means who had been partially ruined and forced to leave larger land holdings by the burdens of taxation of previous decades under Muḥammad ᶜAlī. At the age of thirteen he was enrolled at the mosque school at Ṭanṭa, an important delta town; the school was reputed to be the best outside Cairo at that time. In 1869 Muḥammad ᶜAbduh graduated and made his way to Cairo and the Azhar seminary and there, soon after his arrival, occurred his initial meeting with al-Afghānī, whom he chanced to meet and hear talk on mysticism and the interpretation of the Koran. Following al-Afghānī's return to Egypt from Istanbul in 1871 to begin teaching

at al-Azhar, Muḥammad ᶜAbduh became his most devoted student, disciple and friend. For nine months following September 1876, ᶜAbduh published a series of articles on social, political and religious topics in the newspaper al-Ahrām, established the previous year by the Lebanese brothers Salīm and Bishāra Taqlā. These articles were widely read and well received. Graduating from al-Azhar in 1877, with the customary degree of ᶜĀlim, ᶜAbduh began himself teaching at the college and soon also received an appointment at the Dār al-ᶜUlūm, a new school established to train potential government employees. When al-Afghānī was deported from Egypt in 1879 by the recently enthroned Khedive Tawfīq, ᶜAbduh was himself dismissed from his teaching appointments and sent in disgrace to live in his village of origin. His al-Ahrām articles and the interest he had shown in his lectures in discussing political science clearly reflected al-Afghānī's own views and were presumably the cause for his expulsion. Within one year, however, apparently following an appeal direct to al-Afghānī's erstwhile patron, Muṣṭafā Riyāḍ Pasha, he was permitted to return to Cairo and became editor and soon editorial supervisor of the official government gazette, the al-Waqāᶜiᶜ al-Miṣrīya (Egyptian Affairs). In it, over the following two years of severe crisis in Egypt, he published some thirty articles calling for political and social reforms.

He was encouraged by his friend the liberal, anti-imperialist British aristocrat Wilfrid Blunt, to contribute to an appeal, in a letter signed by ᶜAbduh and Sāmī Pasha al-Bārūdī published in the 'Times' of London on January 3, 1882, to the British government for assistance in achieving reforms in Egypt. Although clearly not a positive supporter of Aḥmad ᶜUrābī and the army officers whose

rebellion led to the British occupation of Egypt, ᶜAbduh had been prominent in demanding reforms and had supported the basic aims of the nationalists. He was, as a result, imprisoned after the reestablishment of the Khedive's authority and ultimately sentenced to three years exile from Egypt for complicity. Following a short stay in Beirut, Muḥammad ᶜAbduh joined al-Afghānī in Paris where they cooperated together in publishing the journal the ᶜUrwat al-Wuthqā, filled with bitter attacks on British policies in Egypt but calling also for reforms in Islamic society. The journal published eighteen editions over eight months before ceasing publication in the autumn of 1884 due chiefly, it seems, to British authorities banning its entry into both Egypt and India.

In mid-July 1884 ᶜAbduh left Paris for London to hold talks with British politicians. Living in London as the guest of Wilfrid Blunt, he visited the Houses of Parliament and received introductions to many Members with whom he argued for British withdrawal from Egypt. Although ᶜAbduh received considerable attention in his conversations and interviews published in the British press, he failed to achieve his objectives of governmental acceptance of the aims of the Egyptian nationalists, namely withdrawal of troops and the establishment of a new, electoral system of rule in Cairo.

From Britain he returned to Paris and, it is said, left again for Tunis, travelling incognito back briefly to Egypt where he apparently attempted to find means of contacting the Mahdī in the Sudan. By early 1885, however, he was back in Beirut where he lived quietly studying and writing until he accepted a teaching appointment at the 'Madrasat al-Sulṭānīya', a newly established Islamic

benevolent society school. For the following several years he delivered the lectures that were later incorporated into his most celebrated work, the Risālat al-Tawḥīd; several other studies were also completed in this period and he became one of the major intellectual-literary figures in Beirut.

In 1888, partly as a result of British pressure, he was permitted to return to Egypt and received an appointment as a judge in the 'native courts' established only a few years before. In 1895 he became a member of a new administrative council governing al-Azhar and was instrumental in bringing about important changes in its curricula. Becoming Grand Mufti of Egypt as well as a member of the Legislative Council, an advisory body, he was able in the latter years of his life to achieve a high supervisory position over the religious court system as well as to provide formal legal opinions of considerable importance for the government. He was also instrumental in founding the Muslim Benevolent Society, the chief purpose of which was to improve and expand school and college facilities, and he was also active in further literary and philosophical studies. He died in 1905 at the age of fifty-six.

Muḥammad ᶜAbduh's chief preoccupation, expressed in all his writings, was to discover and expound a rational compromise between the incontrovertible essential bases of Islam-belief in Allah and in the Prophetic Mission of Muḥammad and the Koran as the revealed word of Allah--and the equally incontrovertible facts of natural law being discovered by scientific enquiry. The essential premise of his reasoning was that Islamic society as he saw it in 19th century Egypt and the Ottoman Empire was in decline and the corollary was

obvious--that the decline must be arrested and Islamic society rejuvenated. The problems had arisen, he rationalized, by movement away from the essential bases of the faith of early Islam, whose righteousness alone could account for the successes of the early Arab conquests and the development of the Golden Age. The prime task, then, was to reestablish the correct essential bases of the early religion and to reinstitutionalize these into the legal system and machinery of government. The question of conflict between the administrative and governmental procedures, material appurtenances and social mores of Western Christian and materialist civilization appearing inexorably into the Islamic world and between traditional Muslim beliefs and practices was real but not irreconcilable to ᶜAbduh. As a religion in which reason could be proved to prevail, Islam would be able to accept the good coming from outside while sternly rejecting what was fundamentally bad. The prime need, therefore, to which he devoted himself, was the reestablishment and dissemination, through education at every level, of an understanding of his concept of the true nature of Islam; this, he hoped, would lead to a renaissance of the spiritual life of the Islamic community and material and social progress through the assimilation, from the civilized West, of whatever was not in conflict with those fundamentals. He advocated, therefore, rejection of the traditional concept of 'taqlīd', the reaching of decisions based on imitation of past judgements, and insisted on the right of the modern jurist to use 'ijtihād', independent interpretation, a procedure denied by the established schools of law for centuries past. He was also rigorous in his criteria for the acceptance of 'ḥadīth', traditions concerning the Prophet's practice or opinions.

The influence of al-Afghānī's ideas on the early thought of Muḥammad ᶜAbduh is clear and the affection and admiration he expressed in letters and eulogies to his teacher are remarkably extravagant, replete with conceit and hyperbole, and couched in terms normally used in reference only to the Creator himself. (21) In later life, however, they had little contact and ᶜAbduh is reported to have become critical of al-Afghānī's intrigues at the Ottoman court and failure to devote himself to the attainment of immediate educational reforms. Certainly the intransigence of their early anti-Western position expressed in the journal al-ᶜUrwat al-Wuthqā seems to have matured into greater moderation in ᶜAbduh's own judgement over the years and his relationship with the British authorities in Egypt and Lord Cromer in particular were clearly most cordial. In the last decade of his life, moreover, ᶜAbduh frequently visited Europe and expressed great admiration for some Western educational and social theorists, specially Herbert Spencer whom he is said to have visited in Britain. He was also a frequent visitor to the salon of Princess Naẓlī Faẓil, a niece of the Khedive Ismāᶜīl, whose home provided a focal point at which politicians, diplomats and literary-intellectual personalities of a distinctly pro-West orientation could meet for entertainment and to exchange ideas.

Muḥammad ᶜAbduh's literary works were considerably more extensive than those of his mentor, al-Afghānī. Apart from his early journalistic contribution to the newspapers al-Ahrām and the collaboration in the al-ᶜUrwa articles, he contributed a number of scholastic editions and commentaries on classical Arabic works.

He translated, with the help of a Persian servant of al-Afghānī's, his teacher's Epistle on the Neicheri sect, the Arabic version receiving wide attention. His own Risālat al-Tawḥīd, thirty short articles based on his Beirut lectures, is his most popular work. The articles, with titles as direct and all-inclusive as: 'Life'; 'Fate'; 'Choice'; 'The Koran' and on, deal in simple language with areas of fundamental interest; the work has been translated and published both in English and in two editions in French. (22) His other works include a commentary on the Maqamāt of al-Hamādānī, a four-volume critical edition of al-Sharīf al-Raḍī's Nahj al-Balāgha, a commentary, not completed, on the Koran and several short studies and interpretations of Islamic theology. He also wrote a brief and rather incomplete autobiography. A number of major studies of his work have appeared in Arabic and other languages.

The ᶜUrābī Movement - Egyptian Secular Reformists

Egypt's financial difficulties under the Khedive Ismāᶜīl had by the late 1870's led to an international control over major sectors of the country's revenue-producing assets, including the railway system, the port of Alexandria and the Suez canal. The size of the Khedive's debts and his clear inability to meet them began to cause financial panic, both within the country and abroad. British and French intervention and the establishment of the Dual Control resulted in new hopes for financial solvency but even the excessive severity used by the Khedive's agents to force peasants and landowners to pay taxes was soon clearly ineffective and resulted in increased discontent throughout the country. It was from this widespread disaffection that Egypt's first 'national', multi-class movement in modern times emerged. Although associated and given inspiration and strength by the Muslim reformers al-Afghānī and ᶜAbduh, the movement was geniunely national in scope and major figures of Egyptian and Arabic literature rose to prominence for the parts they had to play in it.

For several years before the crisis period, Egypt clearly lacked a truly viable, independent national government and the rivalries of Egyptian government leaders exacerbated the situation and encouraged further foreign interventions. Reports from new international commissions of enquiry established to review the situation resulted in pressures upon Ismāᶜīl to curtail his spending and accept the princip of ministerial control over a budget. But the veneer of constitutionalit of his rule remained transparently thin and Egyptian Muslim public opinion was further alienated by the appointment of an Ottoman-born

Armenian Christian, Nubār Pasha, as head of the cabinet. Forced also to relinquish some lands as security for a new European loan, Ismāʿīl's powers had been clearly curtailed and the Khedive sought to reassert himself by posing as a victim of the Christian Powers and thus stimulate Muslim sentiment on his own behalf. He was able to exploit dissatisfaction within the Egyptian army at delays in salary payment to dismiss his cabinet officer Nubār Pasha and request the withdrawal of the British and French financial controllers. However his bluff failed and the Powers, including Bismarck's Germany, were able to persuade the Ottoman Sultan to depose him and appoint his son, Muḥammad Tawfiq as Khedive in his place.

These maneuvers, with the revival of the Dual Control in September 1879 and the appointment of Riāḍ Pasha, described by one historian as a "Moslem of Jewish race belonging to the 'Turkish' party, who had the confidence of the British"(23), as Prime Minister, were observed with alarm by Egyptian Azharites and intellectuals who were kept well aware of the developing situation by the comprehensive Arabic press coverage of the period. The excessive influence of the foreign powers in being able to force the deposition of the head of their state as well as the dismissal and replacement of top government officials was apparent to all, including the army officers who had been so successful in forcing their will over both Khedive and foreign controllers earlier in the year. Aḥmad ʿUrābī Pasha, as a Colonel the highest-ranking Egyptian army officer of non-Turkish stock, who had also played a prominent part in the earlier demonstration, began in January 1881 seeking redress of grievances on behalf of both himself and his fellow officers over

pay and the monopoly of Turkish control over the army's higher echelons. The following month after an abortive attempt by the government to arrange their exile by Court Martial, they were successful in forcing the Khedive to appoint Maḥmūd Sāmī al-Bārūdī, a member of the nationalist-supported Constitutionalist party, as Minister of War. Public support for ᶜUrābī's Army continued to grow among the intellectuals and the masses during the summer and by September they were in a position to accomplish, by a show of force before the palace, the dismissal of the Riāz ministry and the Khedive's agreement to convene a national parliament as well as increase the size of the army.

Throughout the following winter ᶜUrābī's popularity and strength continued to grow and he pressed his own candidates for appointment in the government administration. Soon he was himself given an official appointment as Under Secretary of War. Difficulties over control of the budget between the British and French financial controllers and the newly-formed Chamber of Notables brought a further crisis, however, and the British and French governments issued a Joint Note threatening intervention to maintain the power of the Khedive. Egyptian national solidarity strengthened as a result of the direct threat and the Chamber continued its demands for control over the national budget and the appointment of Maḥmūd Sāmī al-Bārūdī as Prime Minister and ᶜUrābī as Minister of War.

ᶜUrābī's suppression of Circassian army officers, his continued refusal to negotiate on the budget issue, the eventual withdrawal from the Chamber of some of the more moderate and pacifist Notables, all combined with fears of massacres of European and Christian

inhabitants of Egypt to increase British public and governmental sentiment favoring armed intervention. Attempts to remove ᶜUrābī and his Ministry through a show of British naval force off Alexandria resulted, however, in making even more obvious the Khedive's impotence against all the combined forces of the nationalist opposition groups. The Ottoman Sultan, ᶜAbd al-Ḥamīd, was encouraged to attempt to reestablish the Khedive's authority but ᶜUrābī refused to cooperate with the Ottoman Army commander sent to confer with him at Alexandria in June 1882 and rioting broke out in the town resulting in the death of several score Christians and injuries to several European consuls.

While the ᶜUrābīst groups were attempting to hold off a foreign military intervention by moderate statements and policies, the French and British were meeting in Constantinople and agreed to invite the Sultan to send an effective force. Orders to Egypt to stop the continuing construction of fortifications to protect the port of Alexandria were ignored by ᶜUrābī, however, and the British naval units bombarded and destroyed the forts and landed a marine force to restore order in the city after fire had spread there. The Khedive, who had up to now supported the nationalists in their confrontation with the European Powers, remained in Alexandria under British protection and was joined by some of the politicians ousted by ᶜUrābī and by some of the Chamber of Notables members.

Some further massacres of Christians occurred in several Delta villages in the period that followed, during which the British were transporting army units from England and India and the Egyptian nationalists were preparing their military defenses. British use of the Suez canal, however, surprised the ᶜUrābī forces who were

defeated decisively at Tell al-Kabīr in September 1882. The capture of ᶜUrābī in Cairo and the Khedive's dissolution of the Egyptian army left the nationalists in complete disarray. Over the succeeding months trials were held resulting in the exile of ᶜUrābī to Ceylon and the deportation of several other of the prominent nationalist leaders.

ᶜAbd Allah al-Nadīm and Adīb Ishāq

These dramatic events colored the lives of a whole generation of Arab intellectuals and continued to provide inspiration to the nationalist movements over the following decades. Many of the major figures of Arabic literature of the last quarter of the 19th century were closely associated with nationalist activities in Egypt at this period, some at the level of stimulating pride and confidence through the encouragement of religious and educational reforms and others through journalistic and oratorical agitation at the political level. The Egyptian Muslim ᶜAbd Allah al-Nadīm and the émigre Syrian Christian Adīb Isḥāq were the most prominent of those working in the latter field.

ᶜAbd Allah al-Nadīm was born in Alexandria in 1843; his father, who was originally from the province of Sharqīya in the Nile Delta, had set up a small bakery in the town after the closure of the Alexandria armoury and arsenal at which he had earlier worked. al-Nadīm went to a local 'kuttāb' school in his early years, apparently showing early scholastic promise and having learned the Koran by his tenth year. He was then enrolled at the mosque-college of al-Anwar in Alexandria, modelled on Cairo's al-Azhar, but failed

to complete his studies there. He spent a period travelling into the countryside near Alexandria meeting people and telling stories and poetry he had composed before leaving in 1861 for Cairo. There he obtained employment as a telegraph operator, first at the railway and then in the palace office of the Khedive Ismāʿīl's mother. From that vantage point he was able to observe the workings of Cairo's high society to advantage and to pursue his scholastic and literary interests. He studied part-time at al-Azhar and was able to meet with members of the groups of radical intellectuals moving in the circle of the revolutionary Jamāl al-Dīn al-Afghānī.

However, his employment at the palace soon came to an end and he was forced to leave Cairo. He moved to the important Delta town of al-Manṣūra, where he was assisted in setting up a small retail business by a local patron of the literary arts. This venture proved unsuccessful and he then spent some time as tutor to the children of the headman of a village in the region. From there he moved again to another Delta town, Tanṭa, where he received the patronage of Shāhīn Pasha Janaj, an important landowner and government representative. He attracted a great deal of attention at literary gatherings in Tanta and became acquainted with ʿAlī Tutunjī Bey, a member of the Cairo court circle, who offered him employment in the capital. In Cairo once more he soon rejoined the circle of al-Afghānī's students and admirers, became a Freemason and was eventually given the post of editorial assistant in Alexandria for the weekly reformist journal Miṣr (Egypt) which had moved there in 1878. The group also decided to begin a daily al-Tijāra (Commerce) under the same arrangement of editorial management and materials for

publication stemming from Adīb Isḥāq in Cairo while Salīm al-Naqqāsh and al-Nadīm saw them through additional editing and printing and distribution from Alexandria. al-Nadīm also contributed articles to the publications and soon gained a reputation for the forcefulness and graceful simplicity with which he presented his social and political ideas.

In Alexandria at this time, when great public discontent over the government's financial policies and the pervasive foreign influence was being expressed at all levels, al-Nadīm came to know many radical dissidents. He joined the secret society the 'Miṣr al-Fatāt' (Young Egypt) which had many Jewish and Coptic as well as Muslim members but its policy of working within cadres of intellectuals soon dissatisfied al-Nadīm who considered attempts to arouse public opinion against the Khedive's policy more likely to bring success. He therefore worked to gather support for the establishment of an 'Islamic Benevolent Society' (al-jamᶜīya al-khairīya al-islāmīya) which came into being in April 1879 with al-Nadīm as its assistant director. The Society's objective was to open schools at which economically deprived children of both sexes would receive a good general education without cost while those able to pay would be charged tuition fees. The schools would, moreover, it was planned, provide opportunity for the social and political education of parents through weekly discussion groups to which they would be invited. The Society's first school was established in June of that year; al-Nadīm gave the official opening speech and frankly stressed the intention to use the school as an instrument to increase the spirit of national solidarity and public awareness of political and social problems and their solution. al-Nadīm became the school's headmaster

and also taught Arabic literature; it was a large institution employing both foreign as well as Arab teaching staff and soon had almost 500 students of whom over 200 were charged no tuition fees. (24) The school won a good reputation especially for the oratorical, debating and amateur dramatics al-Nadīm encouraged. He both wrote and performed himself in plays they produced which had strong nationalist and social-reformist messages; some of the plays were also performed on the public stage in Alexandria. For a period even after the deportation of al-Afghānī and the village exile of Muḥammad ᶜAbduh, following the accession of Tawfiq and appointment of Riāḍ Pasha as Prime Minister, al-Nadīm was able to continue to hold regular oratorical meetings and discussions at the school and his speeches remained highly popular with the public.

The repressive policies being followed by the government soon led, however, in late 1879 to the closure of much of the reformist press. The brilliant satirical magazine Abū Naẓāra of the Jewish journalist Yaᶜqūb (James) Ṣanūᶜ was forced to cease publication as were Miṣr and al-Tijāra and Adīb Isḥāq their chief editor was himself banished from Egypt. At approximately the same time al-Nadīm was forced to give up his activities both with the Benevolent Society and its school. It was decided that Salīm al-Naqqāsh and al-Nadīm would now cooperate in publishing two new papers to take the place of those closed and in January 1880 the daily al-Maḥrūsa (The Protected) and the weekly al-ᶜAhd al-Jadīd (The New Era) first appeared. In both publications the editors were more circumspect in avoiding direct criticism of the government while continuing to stress the need for solidarity between all sections of the population in facing social and political problems.

The following year, in June 1881, al-Nadīm began publishing his own journal al-Tankīt wa al-Tabkīt (Joking and Reproaching) a humorous and satirical weekly that combined articles, comments, jokes and poems in colloquial as well as polished classical Arabic with contributions from readers on social, political or literary topics. The popular magazine was published for only eighteen issues, however, when with the beginnings of Aḥmad ᶜUrābī's political activities al-Nadīm established a new paper al-Ṭāif (The Wanderer) in Cairo. The new organ, written only in a dignified classical language more suitable to representation of a party with aspirations for national leadership, made direct criticisms of the policies of both Ismāᶜīl and his successor Tawfīq and the continued excessive foreign influence. al-Nadīm continued publishing the paper on behalf of the nationalists throughout the period of severe crisis preceeding the arrival of the British troops. He was himself present at the battle of Tell al-Kabīr but managed to escape arrest after the defeat of the Egyptian army.

Despite the reward of 1000 pounds offered for his capture, dead or alive, al-Nadīm was able to remain a fugitive for almost a decade, which he spend wandering in disguise over the Delta region. He was also apparently active in literary production; one letter to a friend tells of his having completed twenty works in various fields during this period, but none now survive. At last, in November 1891, he was captured in a small village near Ṭanṭa and exiled by Khedivial Decree. He chose to be sent to Jaffa in Palestine where he was received in all honor by the town's religious and intellectual community and he soon established an active literary

circle. He remained in Palestine until the death of Tawfīq brought the Khedive ᶜAbbās Ḥilmī . to the throne, when he was pardoned and allowed to return to Egypt, in May 1892. There al-Nadīm was encouraged by the Khedive, engaged in a struggle for power with Lord Cromer and the British authorities, to establish an anti-imperialist journal al-Ustādh (The Teacher) which first appeared in August 1892 with a mixed format of high and low Arabic similar to that of his earlier weekly al-Tankīt. Within months, however, and because of its great popularity, the British authorities prevailed upon the Khedive to both ban the magazine and banish al-Nadīm and in July 1893 he was once again exiled to Jaffa. His criticisms of Ottoman policies forced his leaving Palestine within four months, however, and he had no alternative but to take a ship back to Alexandria. There he received support from the Sultan's delegate and it was decided that he should be sent to Istanbul as Keeper of the Printed Books where, like al-Afghānī himself, he could be kept under surveillance. After several years spend there in trying to regain entry to Egypt and engaging along with al-Afghānī in court intrigues and some literary production, he died, in October 1896.

Although clearly a major intellectual figure of the period and a productive and innovative poet, playwright and social analyst, very little of his non-journalistic work remains in existence today; loss of manuscripts to fire, government confiscation and his many changes of residence seem to be chiefly responsible. al-Nadīm's oratorical powers were clearly exceptional and foreign observers of the crisis months preceding the British occupation, as well as all Arabic sources, stress his vital role in the ᶜUrābī movement.

Wilfrid Scawen Blunt, for example, one of the best sources for the period, refers consistently to al-Nadīm along with ᶜUrābī and ᶜAbduh as the effective leaders of the movement; he quotes the full text of a letter from Syrian Catholic journalist Louis Sabunji, his friend and agent, written from Cairo in June 1882 only hours before the serious riots in Alexandria, that give an idea of al-Nadīm's oratorical methods. He refers to a public meeting in that city in support of ᶜUrābī and protesting the Khedive's policies and the presence of threatening British naval forces off-shore:

"Nadīm held a large meeting of about 10,000 persons in Alexandria, and spoke against the proposals of Europe, and proved the unfitness of the Khedive to reign. He brought proofs from the Koran, the Hadith, and modern history to prove his case and persuade his hearers."(25)

The same letter ends, referring to another adress made by al-Nadīm, at the request of the ᶜulamā, before 4,000 people from the very pulpit of al-Azhar mosque:

"The effect produced by Nadīm's oration I have no time to describe. You have seen Nadīm and know how eagerly people hear him and how excited they get by his eloquence."(26)

Despite all al-Nadīm's known literary activities, including two nationalist-reformist plays al-Waṭan (The Homeland) and al-ᶜArab (The Arabs), three collections of poetry, a violent satirical poetic attack on an Ottoman court official and a number of other essays and occasional pieces, the majority are either lost or out of print and rare. The only available text from which to gain an impression of his literary work is the collection entitled Sulāfa al-Nadīm (Nadīm's Vintage Best). Collected by his brother ᶜAbd al-Fatāḥ Nadīm, the

work was published in two slim volumes, first in 1901 and again in 1914. The first volume, totalling some 130 pages, presents chiefly early letters to teachers and friends which give some interesting biographical details and some representative excerpts from the first and second issues of his magazine al-Tankīt. The second volume, of similar length, presents a series of articles on duty and responsibility in society--duties to parents, to brothers and sisters, duties of scholars to the public at large and so on. Other essays follow analyzing the composition of society; there is one short essay on kings and princes, and others on those of Ministerial rank, teachers and writers. A thirty-page excerpt from the play al-Waṭan is then given. The dialogue is extremely concise and in colloquial with passages of poetry in formal style interspersed; the plot revolves around the need for individuals to cooperate together and establish better schools to improve society. Other articles on general and social problems, examples of Friday mosque orations and an analytical essay on the nature and causes of defects and virtues in Eastern as compared to European society are followed by more brief social essays and a few lines of poetry which bring the volume to an end. The collection, incomplete and unsatisfactory in many regards, at least gives an impression of the range of his literary activities and of his skill in the use of the Arabic language.

ʾAdīb Isḥāq 1856-1885

The Egyptian national movements centering about Aḥmad ʿUrābī, of which the expression of latent Muslim resentment at the growing influence from Christian Europe was so strong a feature,

was greatly assisted in spreading its message by the efforts of two Syrian émigre litterateurs, 'Adīb Isḥāq and Salīm al-Naqqāsh, both of whom were Maronite Christians by origin. The latter, Salīm al-Naqqāsh, the nephew of the earliest major pioneer in the development of the Arabic theater, Mārūn al-Naqqāsh (1817-1855), cooperated in Egypt first with 'Isḥāq and then with ᶜAbdallah al-Nadīm in journalism but is best known for his huge, three-part, 3,000 page history of 19th century Egypt that has never been fully published. 'Adīb Isḥāq, however, is a major literary figure for the period in several areas, although he died before reaching the age of thirty.

Of Armenian-Catholic ancestry, 'Isḥāq was educated at the French Lazarist school in Damascus where he was born in 1856. He left school early to work in the Ottoman customs department in the city and became competent in Turkish as well as French. He moved to Beirut in his late teens to join his father working for the postal services there and began making contact with intellectual and literary circles in the city. He made several translations for the Beirut press of European prose fiction and theatrical works, some in cooperation with his friend al-Naqqāsh. Moving to Cairo in 1875, he and al-Naqqāsh attempted to establish a theatrical troup to play 'Isḥāq's adaptations of Racine's tragedy Andromacque, an historical play Charlemagne and a comedy al-Bārisīya al-Ḥasnā (The Lovely Parisienne) but the venture seems to have been largely unsuccessful.

In Cairo, 'Isḥāq and al-Naqqāsh established contact with Jamāl al-Dīn al-Afghānī's group of intellectuals and radical reformers and are said to have been members of his freemasonry cell as well as of the secret society Miṣr al-Fatāt (Young Egypt). In 1877 the two Syrians established in Cairo their journal Miṣr (Egypt) on behalf

of the nationalists and in the following year moved its production headquarters to Alexandria where ᶜAbdallah al-Nadīm joined its editorial staff and also that of al-Tijāra (Commerce) that they established there as a daily. Following the Prime Minister Riāḍ's closure of both journals in late 1879, 'Adīb Isḥāq travelled to Paris where, subsidized by the followers of the ousted Prime Minister Sharīf Pasha and by the deposed Khedive Ismāᶜīl, he established a new Arabic-language paper under the title Miṣr al-Qāhira (Egypt the Victorious) to agitate for Riāḍ's removal. When Riāḍ Pasha fell from power and Sharīf Pasha became Prime Minister under pressure from ᶜUrābī's group, Isḥāq returned to Egypt where he was appointed Director of the government's Translations and Publications Bureau as well as Secretary of the newly-established Chamber of Delegates. He does not seem, however, to have remained in Egypt over the period of severe crisis leading to the British intervention and defeat of the ᶜUrābists; he is said to have contracted tuberculosis during his stay in Paris. He spent the last several years of his life in Syria, continuing to contribute to literary journals until his death came in al-Ḥadath in 1885.

'Adīb Isḥāq is best remembered for his extensive contributions to Arab journalism and as a pioneer in the translation and adaptation of French fiction and plays. His plays, published in book form, are rare and no longer popular or performed but a collection of selections from his work was made by Jirjis Mikhāᶜīl Nuḥās and published under the title al-Durar (The Pearls) in Alexandria in 1886 and republished in Beirut in 1909. Over 600 pages in length, the work gives an excellent impression of the range of his interests and especially of

his attempts to reconcile European nationalist and rationalist theory with the actualities of life within the Ottoman Empire. Even though Christian in origin and early education, Isḥāq expressed strong anti-clerical views and argued against the consideration of religious faith as a factor in either patriotic citizenship or in the creation of national entities. His views coincided, therefore, in large measure with the early philosophy being expressed by al-Afghānī and accepted by his circle of Egyptian nationalist admirers amongst whom Yaᶜqūb ('James') Sanūᶜ, an Egyptian-Italian 'freethinker' of Jewish ancestry was also prominent.

Yaᶜqūb Ṣanūᶜ (1839-1912)

A certain Rufā'īl Ṣanūᶜ moved from Italy to Egypt some time in the early 19th century and stayed to marry a Cairene Jewess, Sarra. Their son Yaᶜqūb, was born in 1839 in Cairo. Having been resident in Egypt so long, the modifications of the capitulations, enacted in 1863 and in 1869 abolishing the right to consular protection as a hereditary privilege, did not affect the Ṣanūᶜ family. Consequently Yaᶜqūb could claim immunity as an Italian from certain penalities statutory for Egyptians; he was later to make good use of the privilege. The family seems to have been of the élite class of Cairo Jewish society and the father worked as a clerk and counselor for Aḥmad Pasha Yeghen, a former governor of the Hedjaz and a nephew of Muḥammad ᶜAlī.

Yaᶜqūb learned both the Koran and to read Hebrew and seems to have had an affection and deep interest in both religions. He is said to have been a remarkably precocious child, able to read by

the age of twelve, according to his own account: "the Torah in Hebrew, the New Testament in English and the Koran in Arabic". (27) He also took an early delight in poetry and composed verses in Arabic, Italian and French and, even in his early teens, began attempting to write plays. For three years, from 1852 to 1855, Ya^{c}qūb studied in Leghorn, Italy, at the expense of his father's employer whom he had impressed with his poetry. There he studied politics, law and literature and may have become aware of and interested in the movement of the Italian nationalist movement under Mazzini seeking independence from the Austrian Empire, even though he was still only 16 when he returned from Italy in 1855.

The deaths of both his father and patron forced Ṣanū^{c} to begin earning a living within months after his return and he tutored children of prominent Cairo families until 1863 when he received a teaching appointment at the Cairo Polytechnic Institute, the highly-regarded governmental college. There he may well have both taught and influenced many of the Egyptian army officer cadets who later supported Aḥmad ^{c}Urābī. Ṣanū^{c} remained at the Institute teaching throughout the sixties and in 1870 he began experimenting with theatrical composition and production. His early burlesque and satirical reviews and translations of European works gradually were replaced by original works and soon received the attention and sponsorship of the Khedive Ismā^{c}īl and his court. The period was one of great expansion in theatrical activities in Egypt; the opening of the Suez Canal in 1869 had been timed to coincide with that of the new Opera House in Cairo and soon other theaters opened there and in Alexandria. Ṣanū^{c}'s original works, chiefly comedies and

social satires inspired by local Egyptian customs and characteristics, won great acceptance and celebrity for their creator who adopted the nom-de-plume Abū Naḍḍāra (The Man with Spectables). Using the colloquial languages of Arabic and Turkish and with such immediately attractive and amusing plots, characterization and satire, his materials both stimulated more translation of European dramas, particularly Molières works, and contrasted them favorably in terms of appeal to Egyptian audiences. Soon, however, the dangerous nature of the great appeal to the masses of Ṣanūᶜ's satire of court life, government oppression and the prevalence of European and particularly British influence became apparent to the Khedive and his advisors and, royal support soon being withdrawn, Ṣanūᶜ's theater closed, in 1872.

Having met al-Afghānī and the nationalist reformers of his al-Azhar circle the previous year, if not earlier, Ṣanūᶜ may well have been reflecting their opinions as well as his own in his later plays. It has even, indeed, been suggested that the increasingly strident and biting criticisms inherent in his satire was positively encouraged if not suggested directly by al-Afghānī, who thought that Sanūᶜ could transform his already: "successful source of entertainment into an instrument of public education." (28) Forced out of the theater, however, and also, it seems, no longer permitted to teach at the Polytechnic Institute, Ṣanūᶜ founded in 1872 an interfaith society to work for a cultural and literary revival. Named the "Mahfil al-Taqaddum" ("Lodge of Progress") the society seems to have been forced to close within a year and was followed by the establishment of a second society, the Jamᶜiya Muḥibbī al-ᶜIlm (Society of the Lovers of Knowledge). This too was forced to close within several years,

by 1875, as a result of Khedivial pressure. The exact nature of the meetings of these semi-secret societies and the subjects discussed are not known but they are considered to have spread the revolutionary, republican and reformist beliefs that later became the platform of the National Party. Important figures from the Party's later leadership may well also have been represented in membership of Ṣanūᶜ's societies. After the closure of the Jamᶜīya and perhaps even before, Ṣanūᶜ was also active in freemasonry as were, of course, al-Afghānī and ᶜAbduh and hundreds of the most prominent intellectual, political and literary figures of the time and ever some members of the Khedivial family. In the latter years of Ismāᶜīl's reign Sanūᶜ, a distinct celebrity in his own right and no doubt drawing support from many influential members of the country's élite classes, enjoyed patronage at court and the protection of Prince Ḥalīm, a claimant to the succession; Ṣanūᶜ's criticisms of government policies, still made at freemasonry meetings, were also more moderately expressed than before.

In 1877, however, Ṣanūᶜ founded, apparently in close cooperation with al-Afghānī and ᶜAbduh, but acting himself as both editor and publisher, a satirical newsheet Abū al-Naḍḍāra al-Zarqa (The Man with Blue Spectacles). Written largely in colloquial and filled with witty criticisms of Ismāᶜīl, his ministers and their policies, it was so immediately popular that only fifteen issues over a two-month lifetime were published in Egypt; it was then banned by government order; penalties were to be levied against anyone retaining copies and, soon thereafter, in June 1878, Sanūᶜ was himself banished from Egypt, his protection by the Italian consul saving him from a worse fate.

Travelling directly to Paris, where he established residence, eventually married and lived apart from visits to Spain, Germany, Turkey and perhaps Egypt, for the rest of his life, he began to make a living acting as a tutor, teaching chiefly Arabic. Soon,and perhaps with help from other émigrés, from Egyptian and European financial Jewish circles and possibly from Prince Ḥalīm, he was able to begin new journalistic ventures and in August 1878 he commenced publication of a series of Arabic newssheets, all under different names. Some of these were weeklies, others monthlies and some came out simultaneously on the same days. The purpose of this multiplicity of names and journals was presumably to thwart Egyptian efforts to prevent their entry and distribution. These journals, including one carrying on the old name of Abū Naḍḍāra Zarqa, were effectively smuggled into the country and enjoyed great popularity until their publication finally ceased in 1907. Throughout the crisis years marking the end of Ismāʿīl's reign and the accession of Tawfīq, the journals continued to criticize and poke fun at the governments in power and to support the claim of Prince Ḥalīm as legitimate heir to the throne. The intervention of the British in defeating the ʿUrābī movement inspired a change in Sanʿū's consistently moderate position, in comparison with that of ʿAbdallah al-Nadīm, for example, regarding European-Egyptian relations and he maintained consistently thereafter an anti-British and pro-French posture even while continuing to insist on the suppression of religious fanaticism. He made a conscious effort to increase mutual understanding between East and West with the publication of one of his journals specifically dedicated to that purpose. His al-Tawaddud (Friendship) was first published in

1888 with an introductory statement of purpose referring to the urgent needs for a rapproachment between the two that could be fulfilled by greater and more accurate mutual understanding. In this and the later magazine al-Munṣif (The Just One) which, with the Jarīda Abi Naḍḍāra (Abu Naddara's Newspaper) formed the three major newspapers he continued to publish till his retirement in 1907, he provided a multi-language forum, including materials occasionally in English, and Italian as well as Arabic and French, for the transmission of impressions to the East of European customs and institutions and to the West of essential facts about Egypt, the Ottoman Empire and Islam. Sanū^{c}, even though pardoned by the Khedive Abbas 11 and free to return to Egypt, continued to live in Paris even after having ceased publication of his journals, apparently due to failing eyesight. He died in Paris five years after his retirement, in 1912 at the age of 73.

Ya^{c}qūb Ṣanū^{c} was clearly one of the most talented and dedicated spokesmen for the reform of government in Egypt in the turbulent last third of the 19th century. Allied most clearly with those seeking constitutional changes and having a distinctly political rather than religious or philosophical orientation, he was nevertheless also a major innovator in Arabic literature of the period. In both his plays and his journals his use of colloquial preceded that of ^{c}Abd Allah al-Nadīm and thus marked a distinctly new departure. Although so much of his satirical commentary, directed against court characters and governmental policies long since disappeared, have lost their bite and thrust, a new awareness of Ṣanū^{c}'s importance has been developing in recent years. A number of valuable studies of his work have appeared in the past two decades as well as first

printed publication of several of his plays. He is credited with having produced at least twenty original plays and more than a dozen different magazines at various times, but many have been totally lost; it is particularly unfortunate that no examples have yet been discovered of original issues of the early Abu al-Naḍḍāra al-Zarqa, published for two months in cooperation with al-Afghānī and ᶜAbduh, which led directly to his exile from Egypt.

Muṣṭafā Kāmil (1874-1908)

The Egyptian-Islamic reform movement begun by al-Afghānī and joined by non-Muslims such as Yaᶜqūb Sanūᶜ and Adīb Ishāq lost much of its impetus as a political force following the British occupation of Egypt. Resentments continued, however, to smoulder beneath the surface and by the early nineties, a decade later, began to find powerful expression. A young Muslim Cairene, Muṣṭafā Kāmil, was the most effective nationalist agitator of the period or, indeed, perhaps in the modern history of Egypt. Expressing himself most powerfully in journalism and in oratorical speeches, he also contributed several original literary works and his self-dedication and personal conviction were of truly extraordinary dimensions.

The son of a well-to-do engineer of middle-class Delta origins who had served under Muḥammad ᶜAli's army, Kāmil attended government primary and secondary schools where he showed aptitude for mathematics and the natural sciences as well as great ambition for leadership. (29) In 1891 he graduated from the Cairo School of Law and the following year entered a newly established French law school in Cairo. By 1894, before he was twenty years of age, he received

his 'license' in law from the University of Toulouse, with which the French college was associated. In France he sought an introduction to Juliette Adam, the celebrated liberal author and journalist and editor of the 'Nouvelle Revue'. His first letter to Madame Adam has been published in English translation and, in all its brash directness, it sheds much light on the author's character at the time:

Toulouse, 12 September
1895

Madame,

I am still small but I have high ambitions. I wish in the old Egypt to awake the young one. My country, they say, does not exist; it lives, Madame I feel it lives in me with such a love that it will dominate all others and that I wish to consecrate to it all my youth, my strength, my life. I am 21 years of age, I have just won my licenciate of law in Toulouse. I want to write, to speak, to spread the enthusiasm and the devotion that I feel within me for my country. They keep telling me that I wish to attempt the impossible. The impossible tempts me in fact.

Help me, Madame, you are a patriot, to such a degree that you alone can understand me, encourage me, help me.

Accept, Madame, my respectful homage,
Moustafa Kamel. (30)

From Mme Adam, Kāmil received introductions to French writers and politicians interested in the Egyptian question; he also published in her journal attempts to inspire French intervention in Egypt and supplied her with material for her own articles. Moreover, he made throughout his career frequent visits to Europe where his

powerful speeches drew him considerable publicity. He had opportunities to visit London, Berlin, Switzerland and the Balkans, as well as Istanbul. His friendship with Mme. Adam lasted throughout his life; he came to know Pierre Loti well both in Europe and Egypt and met and received support from Wilfrid Scawen Blunt in England.

While still a student in Cairo Muṣṭafā Kāmil had been intimately engaged in radical political activities and joined in attacks on those elements of the Egyptian press that supported the British presence in Egypt; he is said to have been one of the students who in January 1893 sacked the editorial offices of the pro-British newspaper al-Muqaṭṭam. Even earlier, still in his teens, he is said to have assisted ᶜAlī Yūsuf in founding the journal al-Muʾayyad in 1889, which was the most influential Egyptian nationalist publication of the period. He is also thought to have been influenced by having met ᶜAbd Allah al-Nadīm during the period of his editorship of the magazine al-Ustādh 1892-3 and to have gained from the great spokesman of the ᶜUrābī rebellion an appreciation of the potential power of oratory in Egyptian political life.

al-Muʾayyad had drawn its popular support from the effectiveness of a coalition between the young Khedive ᶜAbbās Hilmī and Egyptian nationalists who agreed on jointly using the powers of the palace and the lower and student classes along with the interests of Paris and the Sublime Porte to prevent Egypt's total immersion within the British sphere of influence. But the humiliating withdrawal of the French after the Fashoda incident forced the Khedive into a closer alliance with the British, and Kāmil saw the need for a journal with greater independence in the expression of nationalist views.

In 1900, therefore, he began publication of his own daily newspaper the al-Liwā (The Banner) as a forum for the anti-British sentiments of radicals like himself. Through this paper Kāmil's popularity became ever more broadly based, drawing particularly enthusiastic support from the student groups proliferating rapidly with the spread of publicly supported education in Egypt. The great indignation and anger at the 'judicial reprisal' arranged by the British in retaliation for the death of one of their officers at the hands of peasants after a hunting incident near the Delta village of Danishwai in early 1906 greatly increased the popular support for Kāmil. The agitations of European liberals, among them Wilfrid Blunt who for over twenty years had fought the British occupation of Egypt, combined with great pressures within the country and personal ill-health to bring about the resignation of Lord Cromer in April of the following year. He was succeeded by Eldon Gorst, an administrator of more conciliatory views and in the fall of 1907 three political parties were allowed to form themselves openly in Egypt. The supporters of the Islamic moderate-reformist faction founded the Ḥizb al-Umma, (Party of the Nation), ʿAlī Yūsuf established the Khedive-supported Ḥizb al-Iṣlāḥ al-Dustūrī (Constitutional Reform Party) while Muṣṭafā Kāmil himself was able to give formal being to the group he had headed for years in the al-Ḥizb al-Waṭanī (The National Party). He died, however, in February of the following year at the very height of his power and popularity; he had indeed, by the age of thirty-four, accomplished the "impossible" for his nation about which he had written to Mme. Adam. He had been the prime instrument in forcing a positive movement towards popular control of government in Egypt and the eventual assertion of Egyptian sovereignty and independence.

Muṣṭafā Kāmil is reputed to have been an accomplished poet as well as a fine orator with a keen sense of the power of the Arabic language. He was the author of a 200 page account of the misdeeds of the British occupation over the year 1895-6, published in book form that same year, and soon after he brought out a long account of the Egyptian-European conflict (al-Mas'ala al-Sharqīya; The Eastern Question, Cairo 1898). He also wrote a versified play on the Arab conquests of Spain, a study of slavery under the Roman empire and a book on Japan, which he never visited, entitled al-Shams al-Mushriqa (The Rising Sun). In it, as in many articles in the al-Liwā newspaper, Kāmil expressed great admiration for the success of the Japanese in their 1905 military confrontation with Russia. For Kāmil, as for many Arab intellectuals, the war did much to boost morale by proving that Oriental man would be able, given sufficient industrial progress, to withstand European power. Kāmil's open admiration for the Japanese achievement, expressed so frequently, offended some of his European journalist acquaintances and seriously threatened his friendship with Pierre Loti.

Several other of his literary works appeared posthumously. His letters to Mme. Adam were published in 1909 translated into side-by-side English and Arabic form by his brother ᶜAlī Fahmī Kāmil, who also produced a three-volume edition in nine parts of his unpublished Arabic speeches as well as biographical details of himself and his family. In early 1907 he had begun publication of English-language (The Egyptian Standard) and a French-language (L'Étandard Égyptian) versions of his Arabic al-Liwā with added articles and news items of special interest to European readers resident

in Egypt. Two years before, in 1905, he had begun publication of a weekly journal the al-ᶜĀlam al-Islāmī (The Muslim World) but it failed to reach particular prominence.

Scarcely an imaginative or original thinker and giving little impression of having developed, by the time of his premature death, an intellectual interest in problems of either the theoretical and philosophical questions of relationships between temporal and spiritual power, Islamic values versus European materialism and so on, Kāmil's appeal seems to have lain in his charismatic presence and his determined singleness of purpose. As particularly his letters show, he was obsessed with the need to force British withdrawal from Egypt. He seems to have visualized Egypt's national pride as somehow embodied in his own person and spirit and he devoted himself to the anti-British cause with extr aordinary devotion that left no place for normal family life; he never married.

A political tactician rather than a moral theorist, Kāmil aligned his support at times with the Khedive ᶜAbbās and at other with the Ottoman Sultan, as in the ᶜAqaba railway crisis, but only in so far as their policies opposed those of Britain. At a time of considerable unrest beneath the surface of an Egypt making great material progress, Kāmil stood out as the most popular public figure in the country. His influence in the rise of a distinctly Egyptian national feeling was very great and his efforts and arguments--concerning the unity of the Nile vallley for example--were to color Egyptian political life for decades to come. It was the national feeling that he incited that could be later unleashed so effectively by Zaghlūl and later politicians and his name was frequently invoked in the years to come. He was, moreover, keenly

aware of the potential power and appeal of slogans. His saying: "Aḥrār fi bilādnā; kuramā li ḍuyūfnā,", for example, "free in our own land; gracious to our guests" - lived on after his death as the epitomization of the Egyptians' view of themselves and their relationship to the many Europeans resident in their country.

Half a million people are said to have attended Muṣṭafā Kāmil's funeral and his brother writes of having received more than 13000 telegrams of condolence; never had an Egyptian politician achieved such popularity.

Syrian Muslim Reformists of the ᶜAbduh Schools - Riḍā in Theology, al-Kawākibī in Politics

A number of figures important in the development of Arab thought were strongly influenced by as well as closely associated with Muḥammad ᶜAbduh and his policies and theories relating to Islam in the modern world. The most prominent of these was his protégé and biographer, the Syrian émigre Muḥammad Rashīd Riḍā, who did much to both spread the fame of his teacher and develop his ideas. Although it is true that the conclusions reached by Riḍā, especially in his later life, are more narrowly orthodox and restrictive than those of ᶜAbduh the association between the two was close over a number of years.

Riḍā was one of the last of that stream of Syrian émigres who played so important a role in the intellectual life of Egypt in the last decade of the 19th century. He was born in the small village of Qalāmūn near Tripoli in Lebanon in 1865 to a modest landowning family. He was first educated at the local Koranic school, at a Turkish government elementary school and at a college established by Sheikh Ḥusain al-Jisr (1849-1909). A graduate of al-Azhar, chiefly orthodox and traditional in his views, al-Jisr was active in journalism and encouraged the study of European languages and the natural sciences in his school. Riḍā's autobiography tells of the awareness he developed during this period of the nature and advances being made in the Western world and their potential good for Islamic society if selectively applied. When al-Jisr's school was forced to close, however, by the refusal of the Turkish authorities to give it official sanction as a religious school, Riḍā completed his

training at a recognized Muslim seminary at Tripoli, graduating as an ᶜĀlim in 1897.

As a student in his late teens and early twenties he had heard much of the political and literary activities of al-Afghānī and ᶜAbduh and had opportunities to meet the latter on several occasions on his periods of exile in Lebanon. Clearly having been deeply inspired by the ideas and attitudes of the ᶜUrwat al-Wuthqā articles to which he had access in Tripoli, he set out for Cairo immediately following his graduation and attached himself to Muḥammad ᶜAbduh, becoming a student and constant companion of the Sheikh for the last eight years of his life. The year following his arrival, in 1898, Riḍā established in Cairo a journal al-Manār (The Lighthouse) that he intended would follow the same essential path as the ᶜUrwa, namely seek the revival of Islamic and Arab greatness through the improvement of education with the express purpose of developing society from within while withstanding pernicious influences from the West. The journal, which continued publication even after the death of Riḍā in 1935 and was therefore of remarkable longevity, was in constant conflict with the two other prominent magazines of the turn of the century in Egypt, the al-Mu'ayyad of ᶜAlī Yūsuf, which adopted generally pro-Khedivial policies and the al-Muqaṭṭam (Muqattam) which was oriented towards an interfaith and intercultural rather than Islamic point of view.

Along with his remarkably broad and prolific activities in journalism and book production, Riḍā played an important role in comtemporary Arab and Islamic politics. He was a founding-member of the Decentralization Party formed in Cairo in 1912 by Syrian émigres; the party became the best political organization

representing the Arab point of view in the Ottoman empire, with branches throughout greater Syria. Riḍā represented the party in wartime negotiations with the British and at the end of the war and the collapse of the Ottomans he became President of the Syrian National Congress that in 1920 conferred the throne of Syria on Faiṣal. He was a member of the delegation of Syrians and Palestinians who attended the Peace Conference in Geneva in 1921 and also attended Islamic conferences in Mecca and Jerusalem in the twenties and thirties.

The literary work of Muḥammad Rashīd Riḍā was both extensive and varied. His own articles in his journal al-Manār covered a wide profusion of topics, the majority dealing with problems of societal development within an orthodox Islamic framework. He also published a series of books discussing questions of Islamic law and theories of political leadership within Islam. An early work, the al-Waḥy al-Muḥammadī (The Revelation to Muhammad) a clearly worded and direct restatement and reaffirmation of the essential prophetic mission of the Prophet in the form of refutations of objections made by Western clerics and orientalists, was well received and has been several times republished as well as translated into English, Urdu and Chinese. (31)

Riḍā, unlike either al-Afghānī or ᶜAbduh, expressed a consistent faith in the institution of the Caliphate as the most appropriate system for rule in the Islamic state. Early numbers of the al-Manār argued for the establishment of an Islamic Society in Mecca under the patronage of the Ottoman Sultan-Caliph and even after the defeat of the Ottomans in the First World War and dissolution of the Caliphate he continued to advocate its revival. He reasserted,

moreover, the classical concept that the office of Caliph should be held only by an Arab, of the Quraysh tribe,and maintained that previous failures in the institution were the consequence of divergence from the early and correct theories governing it and not the result of defects in the Caliphate itself. He formulated this belief in detail in a book al-Khilāfa aw al-Imāmat al ᶜUẓmā (The Caliphate or the Supreme Imamate) published in 1923 which has been translated into French. (32)

Riḍā's religious philosophy later developed along lines of strict adherence to a rigid orthodoxy. The 'Salafīya' movement, with which he came to be associated, deliberately looking backward to ancient Islamic tradition and away from scientific, social or political influences from outside Islam, had more in common with Arabian Wahhabism and greater influence in the development of the ideology of the Muslim Brethren movement than in the 'liberal' modernism of Muḥammad ᶜAbduh reflected in present-day legal systems of the modern Islamic world. In fact, despite the clearly substantial role Riḍā played in the inter-Muslim debates of the first quarter of this century, especially in Egypt, he is best remembered for those of his works that do not deal directly with Islamic political theory and law. His biography of Muḥammad ᶜAbduh, published in three large volumes in Cairo in 1931 has become a standard reference work. As well as somewhat selective details of his biography, it also contains much of ᶜAbduh's translation of al-Afghānī's Epistle. Riḍā also cooperated during ᶜAbduh's latter years in beginning a comprehensive modern reinterpretation of the Koran, with copious explanations of the meaning of individual words and phrases and of the message implied or specified by them. Riḍā continued the project after ᶜAbduh's

death and published the completed edition in 12 volumes from the Manār Press over the years from 1927 to 1935.

ᶜAbd al-Raḥmān al-Kawākibī (1849 or 1854-1930)

The sentiment in favor of a pan-Islamic revival based on a renewed Arab Caliphate, so clearly underlying the thought of many Muslim reformists of the late 19th century, even though scarcely reconcilable with the support for republican and local national ideals they so often proclaimed, found clear and unequivocal expression at the turn of the century in the work of an older compatriot and contemporary of Rashīd Riḍā. ᶜAbd al-Raḥmān al-Kawākibī, a man of much travel and varied experience, contributed two studies as well as journalistic production to the Arabic literature of the period that clearly struck a highly responsive chord and he is today credited, in widely-read materials, as an early hero and exponent of the Arab nationalist movement.

Born in Aleppo in Syria of Kurdish maternal and Persian paternal parentage, his family was long and well established in the town. He was educated first at the 'Kawākibīya' school there established by an ancestor and later went for higher studies to Antioch. Brought up by his aunt, his mother having died in his infancy, and his father, he was encouraged to learn good Turkish and some Persian as well as Arabic and showed a particular interest in the natural sciences; he is said to have operated small mechanized mining ventures in northern Syria in later life. In early manhood he became a member of the town's official governing bureaucracy and also wrote articles, over a period of five years, for the local governmental paper, the al-Furāt (The Euphrates) which appeared

in Arabic and Turkish. He eventually also published his own paper, in his late twenties, the al-Shahbā' (The Gray-an epithet of Aleppo) but it was banned by the Ottoman authorities after only fifteen issues. This he soon replaced with another journal al-Iᶜtidāl Moderation but it too was soon abolished. al-Kawākibī then apparently established his own law firm and defended and appealed cases brought by Jamāl Pasha, the Governor of Syria, against Syrian nationalists. He was himself at last charged with sedition and convicted but his appeal was successful and he was allowed to leave for Egypt, in 1898. After only a short initial stay he left again for travel to Zanzibar, Ethiopia and perhaps India but returned once more to Egypt for another short stay preceding a further trip to the Arabian Peninsula, the Yemen, India and East Africa. He arrived back in Egypt in 1899 and remained resident there for the rest of his life.

On arrival in Cairo he seems to have been well received by the palace and it is thought that he may even have acted on behalf of the Khedive ᶜAbbās Ḥilmī who, it is said, had ambitions to become Caliph. (25) He was active in journalism on behalf of the Muslim-reformist press of the city and contributed to both the al-Manār founded by Riḍā and the al-Mu'ayyad of ᶜAlī Yūsuf, to which Muṣṭafā Kāmil and other radical Egyptian nationalists contributed. In al-Manār he published in serial form what were to become his most important contributions, the Ṭabā'iᶜ al-Istibdād (Characteristics of Tyranny) and the Umm al-Qurā (The Mother of Cities-an epithet of Mecca). The first of these, possibly an adaptation of a work of the Italian author Alfieri on the same subject translated about that time into Turkish, described and defined tyrannical forms of rule and by implication made strong criticisms of the evil and brutality of them.

The second work, the Umm al-Qurā, while possibly drawing in part from ideas expressed in Wilfrid Blunt's Future of Islam and elsewhere,(34) is clearly remarkably original both in form and much content. First published in Riḍā's journal al-Manār in 1902, it was republished again in book form soon after the author's death, as well as again since. It arroused great interest in Egypt at the time and many readers, European as well as Arab, thought it a work of factual reporting rather than a provocative exposé of social-political theory that is clearly its true nature.

The work purports to describe accurately a fourteen-day conference convened at Mecca shortly before the pilgrimage season in the year 1898. The fiction is maintained that al-Kawākibī, (under his pseudonym al-Sayyid al-Furāti--'the Euphrates Gentleman') had invited delegates from various parts of the world to discuss the state of their Islamic nation and then other participants were recruited from other areas represented by pilgrims who happened to be in the city. The participating delegates therefore eventually numbered 22 and represented many parts and philosophies of the Muslim world, from Pekin to Liverpool, even though, strangely, no mention is made of delegates from Algeria, Libya, Black Africa or even Persia. Having agreedto al-Kawākibī's suggestion that the delegate from Mecca act as President and he himself as its Secretary General, the discussions began with introductory prayers and an address in which the President stated the purposes of the conference to be: to describe and define the current state of Islamic affairs; to demonstrate that widespread ignorance is the prime cause of the shortcomings described; to give effective warning to the nation of likely further deterioration; and to place blame upon the political

and religious powers for failing to create a unity of effort towards a renaissance.

In the course of the meeting sessions, reported verbatim, and numbering up to twelve (the tenth and eleventh sessions are ommitted without explanation from the first Cairo book printing) the President brings up points for discussion. Individual delegates were then invited to express opinions or ask questions to which responses follow at length. From the exchanges and the space devoted to particular points of view, the reader comes to clearly see al-Kawākibī's purposes and opinions. Generally the ideas favored by the chief delegates agree with those of the moderate modernists of Islam of the period and reflect the influence of the al-Afghānī, ᶜAbduh and al-Nadīm group--future Arab-Islamic renaissance can only come from unity, education and the selective application of those rational and beneficial aspects of modern industrial, social and political organizations which accord with basic Islamic doctrines which should themselves be redefined.

Much of the discussion reflects strong criticism of the current state of affairs under the Ottoman caliphate and the egotism of succeeding sultans, the baseness of the religious hierarchy supporting them and the apathy and ignorance of the masses are stressed as serious elements of the problem; the whole work constitutes an unusually frank and courageous plea for basic reforms revolutionary in their implications of the need to separate clearly temporal from spiritual authority. In the seventh and eighth discussions al-Kawākibī ('the Euphrates Gentleman') is invited to act as delegate rather than 'Secretary' and to give his personal assessments of the causes for the lack of vitality in Islamic society. He responds by

immediately dividing these causes into three categories; religious, political and moral-educational and lists a total of fifty-six problem areas, each numbered, encompassing these. To them he adds a score of faults in the specifically Ottoman political and administrative system and finally a dozen varied other causes, totalling no less than eighty-six in all!

Following the reportage of the discussion meetings, the text of the articles of constitution of a 'Society for the Education of Muslims' is given with regulations concerning membership, officers, the convening of meetings and so on. In this part of the book and within discussion, supposedly reported to the 'Secretary' later, that had taken place between the 'Indian delegate' and an unspecified 'prince', the institution and powers of the ideal Caliphate are examined at length. The work argues for the early Islamic orthodox theory that the Caliph should be from the Arab tribe of Quraish and his seat established in Mecca; a section available in English translation (35) enumerates and discusses the advantages in the institution being both Arab and Arabian. But it is clear that the future caliph would have only restricted and religious authority, be subject to election and have no military forces at his disposal or power to interfere in the political and administrative government of the separate Islamic states.

The materials and arguments discussed in this work are presented in a novel, lively and delightfully provocative manner. The reader's interest is stimulated by a feeling of witnessing the authentic records of a conspiratorial secret congress examining highly explosive issues; the impression is heightened by cryptic ciphers within and at the end of the text and by the anonymity of

the delegates. Here and there listings of numbers and letters are given clearly intended to represent a secret code for which no key is given. The final page of the whole work gives a coded message intriguingly entitled: "An Announcement that Time will Unveil". The title is followed by some 300 disconnected Arabic letters, with the date 1316 A.H. (1898 A.D.) given in the text and it is signed by 'Sālih J.' Readers were invited, moreover, on the next to last page to write for further information to an address from which post-box number and even city are left blank!

Literary-Journalistic Contributions of Christian Arabs

The late 19th century movement of Syrian journalists and intellectuals inspired by Ottoman oppression at home and encouraged by comparative freedom of speech and the burgeoning prosperity of the Nile valley contributed remarkably to the renaissance of modern Arabic literature. Many of these writers were influential in the movement seeking Egyptian national rights and independence from Britain and were centered around the Islamic-reformist groups. The Syrian émigres most closely involved were not, however, exclusively Muslim as one can see in the case of 'Adīb 'Isḥāq and in the realm of journalistic entrepreneurship Christian writers played a decidedly dominant role. The oldest Arabic newspaper surviving to this day and now of unrivalled importance in Arab journalism, the Cairo al-Ahrām (The Pyramids) was founded in Alexandria in 1875 by two Maronite brothers from Lebanon, Salīm and Bishāra Taqlā. Although not of great and immediate success in its field or particular early prominence, it was within years of considerable influence and such major later figures as Muḥammad ᶜAbduh contributed to it. Similarly, the Syrian Christians Salīm al-Naqqāsh and Adīb Isḥāq, both prominent in the early Arab theater as well, founded in 1877 the Jarīda Miṣr (Egypt's Newspaper) which was to become an influential anti-British weekly. Fāris Nimr and Yaᶜqūb Ṣarrūf, moreover, both Maronite in origin but trained in Beirut Protestant seminaries, founded and edited a daily, the pro-British al-Muqaṭṭam (Muqaṭṭam--name of range of hills overlooking Cairo), and a weekly al-Muqtaṭaf (The Selection) that had considerable impact, the former on the political spectrum and, the latter, on the early dissemination in Arabic of information about

the natural and applied sciences. The influence of al-Muqtaṭaf was by no means ephemeral and it continued in publication until as late as 1952.

Important though these political, literary and scientific journals were in providing fora for the development of Egyptian and Arab intellectual life, only two Syrian journalists of the period, however, emerged as major figures in their own right into modern Arabic literature--Jurjī Zaidān and Farah 'Anṭūn. A third Christian journalist and litterateur, Salāma Mūsā, even though an Egyptian Copt and living on into the second half of the twentieth century, expressed ideas that continued and amplified the essential work of the earlier Syrians and may consequently be conveniently introduced along with them.

Jurjī Zaidān (1861-1914)

Born in Beirut in 1861 of working class Roman Orthodox parentage, Jurjī Zaidān received formal education only in primary school up to the age of twelve when he was required to assist his father in earning the family's livelihood. (36) He nevertheless continued to broaden his studies throughout his teens having a particular interest in reading and a natural artistic talent. He attended evening classes in Beirut, learned English and became a member of the "Jam^{c}īya Shams al-Birr" ('The Sun of Goodness Society'), a literary group formed mainly from students at the American Protestant missionary schools. There he came to know such teachers and intellectuals as Ya^{c}qūb Ṣarrūf and Fāris Nimr who had founded the scientific journal al-Muqtaṭaf in Beirut in 1876 which they were later in 1884 to transfer to Cairo.

By 1881 Zaidān had determined to study medicine and, it seems by intensive self-preparation, he succeeded in passing the stiff examinations into the American Medical College. There he successfully completed the first year's studies but the internal administrative problems then plaguing the college led to his leaving, along with many other students, early after the beginning of the second year. Soon thereafter, however, he presented himself for an examination in pharmacy given by medical school professors and Syrian doctors and received a diploma.

When the situation in Egypt became stabilized after the defeat of the ᶜUrābī movement Zaidān travelled to Egypt hoping to complete his medical studies there. Lacking sufficient funds, however, he soon began to work in the editorship of al-Zamān (Time) Cairo's only daily newspaper at that period. After employment there lasting one year he became a translator for the British Nile expeditionary force seeking to relieve Gordon at Khartoum and accompanied the army up the Nile into the Sudan for ten months. Thereafter, in 1885, he returned to Beirut where he was elected to membership of the Majmaᶜ al-ᶜIlmī al-Sharqī (Oriental Society for Learning) and busied himself in studying Hebrew and Syriac. The following year he published the fruits of these studies, his al-Falsafat al-Lughawīya (Linguistic Theory), an ambitious attempt to evolve theories of language development in universalist, anthropological terms with particular emphasis on Arabic.

That same year, 1886, he travelled briefly to London, spending his time there in visiting the major museums and becoming acquainted with British scientific and scholastic societies. Returning to Cairo that winter he was invited to work on the editorial staff of

al-Muqtataf with which he stayed until early 1888, resigning to devote himself to further study and the composition of a history of Egypt; the work was published in Cairo in the following year in two volumes. His next work was a study of the history of Freemasonry, also published in 1889, which was in turn soon followed by a general universal political history of Asia and Africa, the first and only volume of which appeared in Beirut 1890.

Zaidān next spent a period teaching Arabic at the Cairo Roman-Orthodox parochial college; during those two years he also worked on his first novel the al-Mamlūk al-Shārid (The Fugitive Mamlūk). Set at first in Lebanon in the court circles of the Emīr Bashīr and the Druze mountain community and soon moving to Cairo, Upper Egypt, the Sudan and back to Palestine, the story progresses rapidly from description, to adventure, to romance, to the relation of historical events and circumstances, a format he was to continue in all his later fiction. Seemingly designed to interest and instruct young students rather more than provide adult fictional entertainment, the novel was well received at the time of its first publication and, like his many others, remains popular still.

In 1892 Jurjī Zaidān began publication of his own journal, the monthly magazine al-Hilāl (The New Moon) and remained its chief editor and proprietor until his sudden death in 1914. In the intervening period he continued to be extraordinarily productive. He wrote in all twenty-two historical novels, the overwhelming majority centering on heroic figures or climactic incidents in Arab-Islamic history but with several set in ancient Egypt and early Ottoman Turkey. As well as several studies in general linguistic analysis and the history of language, he wrote further works of impressive

scholarship on history, philosophy and geography. He was also the author of a five-volume history of Islamic civilization and he wrote the first literary history of Arabic, in four volumes, printed in that language, which he completed just before his death. His scholarship was impressive enough even to highly trained orientalists for Professor D.S. Margoliouth of Oxford to publish an English translation of the fourth volume of his history of Islamic civilization, under the title Umayyads and ᶜAbbāsids (37).

Of all his activities, his publication of the magazine al-Hilāl (The New Moon) stands out as his greatest contribution to the development of Arabic literature. The magazine, as Zaidān wrote in its first issue, was given its name for three reasons--to honor the Ottoman symbol of the new moon, to indicate that its appearance would be monthly, and thirdly in the hope that from modest beginnings and with God's permission it would grow in time to all the splendor of a veritable full moon! With due allowance for the hyperbole, one must agree that the objective was prophetically fulfilled; the magazine was a success from the beginning and it is the only Arabic monthly still surviving in publication from that period when it began. Well written and produced, it contained studies on literary, historical, social and scientific topics, with the greatest emphasis on historical, philosophical and social themes. Early issues were typically divided into sections on the "most famous events and greatest personalities", history for the month, original articles, stories complete or serialized, translated or original and, finally, items of current news. In its fourth year of publication Zaidān began including excerpts from his own historical novels, the first being Armanūsa the Egyptian, set in ancient Egypt. Many of the

most prominent writers and intellectuals of the time contributed to al-Hilāl and it came to constitute an important early 'school' for modern Arabic literature.

Zaidān was highly conscious of style and vocabulary in communication in Arabic; he counselled writers to acquaint themselves with the particular vocabulary appropriate to each discipline in which they wished to contribute. Simple, direct and precise in his own style and deliberately unpretentious, he nevertheless shied away from the colloquial language, even in his fiction works, insisting that the classical language must be revived and spread. A great amateur scholar, both highly dedicated and methodical, Zaidān learned several modern European languages as well as Latin, Hebrew and Syriac and, with his early medical studies and travels in Europe and in the Middle East, he was well equipped for his broadly-spread literary activities.

He remained, unlike so many other Arab intellectuals of the modern period, disassociated from local and international political or religious-philosophical controversies and his dominant interest was in the development of education in the Arab world through the compilation of historical and literary studies of wide usefulness. His success in the creation of Arabic historical fiction remains without rival and his score of novels, as well as several of his literary and historical studies, are still in publication. Possessing an excellent sense of the romantic and the dramatic, Zaidān's well-developed plots and characters, though stereotyped into heroes and villains, do maintain the reader's interest and he took pains to ensure a high degree of historical authenticity. His historical

novels have, moreover, been indirectly effective in developing Arab national pride and consciousness by focussing attention on the drama and glory of earlier periods. Their continued popularity is a tribute to his skill and success, however deficient they may be found in terms of sophisticated literary analysis.

Farah 'Antūn (1874-1922)

The life and work of Farah 'Antūn both compares and contrasts with that of Jurjī Zaidān. Although both Christian and Lebanese in origin and having lived all their adult lives, with only brief periods abroad, in Egypt, both indefatigable students and writers, 'Antūn was much more interested in analysis than description, more concerned with religious and social philosophy than history or education. Antūn's influence on the development and spread of Arabic literature may perhaps have been more transitory--none of his works is in current publication--yet he had a deep impact on the movement towards rationalism and existentialism which have come to be so highly regarded by Arab intellectuals in later years.

His father a merchant, Farah 'Antūn was born in Tripoli in north Lebanon in 1874 and he attended primary school in the city before moving, in his twelfth year, to the Roman Orthodox school at Kaftain in the Koura region to the south-east. The school provided a good general education, at the time one of prosperity in the area, and there he was introduced to the arts and sciences, Arabic and Islamic literature and even French and English as well as Turkish. The teaching staff was apparently surprisingly ecumenical in formation, with a Protestant director, a Muslim Arabic teacher, several Maronites, but only one Roman Orthodox instructor. 'Antūn was later to state that the harmony and compatibility he observed as a student between the various sects represented in the school was to deeply influence the author's own religious views.

Upon graduation, having developed a particularly deep knowledge and interest in French literature that was to last

throughout his life, 'Anṭūn spent a short period teaching at a Catholic school in Tripoli. Then, having moved to Beirut, he began publication in 1896 of a magazine which he named al-Jāmi^{c}a (The University). He soon, however, became disillusioned by the restrictive Ottoman press regulations at this time of serious civil unrest in Lebanon and the following year he emigrated to Egypt, making the journey in the company of Rashīd Riḍā, then a close friend and also from Tripoli. Upon arrival in Egypt he spent a period employed as a working journalist and when Riḍā established his journal al-Manār (The Lighthouse) he employed 'Anṭūn to translate materials for it from French. Their association ended, however, when 'Anṭūn recommenced in Alexandria publication of his own journal al-Jāmi^{c}a. It met with considerable success and soon enjoyed as Mārūn ^{c}Abūd has observed, a reputation in the literary arts comparable to that of al-Muqtaṭaf in the field of the sciences and al-Hilāl in history. (38)

'Anṭūn was also active in producing translations of European philosophical and fictional works as well as in writing and arranging production of original plays over the next few years in Egypt, but in 1906 he travelled to New York where, for a brief period, he attempted to continue publication of his monthly al-Jāmi^{c}a. There he also began to bring out a daily newspaper and a weekly magazine in Arabic but they failed to achieve particular success and he returned to Cairo. He spent the rest of his life in Egypt busy in the editorship of another monthly journal he founded, named al-'Ahālī (Kinfolk), and in continuing his translations, studies and original compositions in a variety of fields.

Farah 'Anṭūn was a very prolific writer and a dedicated transmitter of Western thought. He made translations into Arabic of fictional and educational works by, amongst others, Chateaubriand, Gorki, Tolstoy, Nietzsche and Shaw and drew particularly admiring attention to Rousseau and even Karl Marx. He also translated Ernest Renan's Vie de Jésus and published studies on Buddha, Confucius and Hammurabi as well as a detailed 200 page study of Ibn Rushd (Averroes) in which he also explored his own views on the relationship between religion and state. His position, in essence, was to deny consistently that Islam or any other religion could provide the basis for a modern and progressive society. His views on religion closely paralleled those of Renan, whom he translated, and strongly offended the leaders of the Islamic reform movement in Egypt at the time. Muḥammad ᶜAbduh and Rashīd Riḍā were particularly concerned by one article in al-Jāmiᶜa in which 'Anṭūn, within an exploration of the philosophy of Ibn Rushd, expressed his own opinion that Christianity was more in harmony with both rational philosophy and science than Islam was. This led to a published response from ᶜAbduh in the form of his essay on Christianity and Islam to which 'Anṭūn in turn responded with his full study of Ibn Rushd. The controversy, over so fundamental an issue, aroused great interest in the other Arabic publications media of the period and one consequence to 'Anṭūn was that, having deeply offended Muslim public opinion with his views, subscriptions to al-Jāmiᶜa diminished. (39)

Farah 'Anṭūn was also the author of a number of historical and sociological novels and romances. In these the fictional elements were typically only thinly pasted over the social or philosophical

message the author wished to stress. In his al-Waḥsh! al-Waḥsh! al-Waḥsh! (The Wilds! (or Wild beasts) The Wilds! The Wilds!) for example, first published in Alexandria in 1903, the plot centers around a tour taken by two youths into the Lebanese mountains. The scene shifts from village to village and in each one some incident arises or character is introduced to symbolize a social or moral phenomenon or problem. The conversations that develop between main and secondary characters express the author's criticisms of society and its moral standards and offers 'rational' proposals for solutions.

Religious fanaticism and the monastic life, the dangers and treatment of tuberculosis and the nature of true versus false love are typical subjects discussed. Comments and comparisons are introduced constantly between the state of Arab versus Western philosophies and attitudes, particularly as demonstrated in French Revolutionary thought, for example, and the author's admiration for the West is apparent throughout. Rather uneven in treatment and with literary-artistic concerns clearly secondary, the work fails to achieve the interest of, for example, the novellas of T.L. Peacock, writing in English in the early 19th century concerned with comparable societal and intellectual problems or Voltaire in Candide by whom Anṭūn might even have been influenced.

Anṭūn is credited with having written more than a dozen plays, over half being translations or adaptations from French. In his original plays, Anṭūn displayed his constant concern for both society's problems and intellectual ideas rather than in character development or conflict exploration. He was keenly aware of the problems of the nature and level of the Arab language to be used

in plays and in the introduction to one of his theatrical works Miṣr al-Jadīda wa Miṣr al-Qadīma (Egypt, Modern and Ancient) published in 1913 after its stage presentation at Cairo's Opera House, he explains his own view with typical directness and clarity. It would be difficult to find an earlier reasoned exploration of the problems, still largely unresolved to this day, of the 'classical' versus 'colloquial' Arabic in theatrical dialogue. He first defines a theater as a place where people gather to imitate other people and states that if the play is a translation,then classical Arabic does provide a reasonable medium for the Egyptian stage. But if the play deals with people whose natural means of communication is colloquial language, then to use classical on the stage would be unnatural and a denial of the theater's prime purpose of close imitation of life. To use colloquial itself on stage, the obviously best way to achieve realism, would, however, lead us to an even more serious fault; we would be guilty of encouraging the colloquial language and weakening the classical. 'Anṭūn states directly that he does not wish to be the one to begin such a trend. He goes on to describe his solution to the problem:

"I have chosen a medial course. I do not claim it as a final solution, but I do consider it the best up to now. I have preferred to make the upper-class characters in the story speak in classical because their education, knowledge and circumstances would give them such a right, whereas I have made the lower-class characters speak in colloquial" (40)

Communication between the two classes on stage would by necessity be in colloquial but there would still remain the problem

of what language level women should converse in when on stage. For them, he states:

"I have created a third language, neither colloquial nor classical, which might be called a lightened classical along with an elevated colloquial."(41)

Farah 'Antūn was very much a man of this century and concerned himself with a vast range of contemporary social, political, religious, philosophical and literary matters of interest to the Arabs. He was deeply influenced by and agreed with French philosophies on politics and religion and British and Russian socialist and economic theories. Like so many other Arab writers well educated in French, his style in Arabic is unaffected and of remarkable lucidity and he expressed his opinions with unequivocal directness. He was an early and enthusiastic supporter of Qāsim 'Amīn in propagating support for women's rights, especially to a good education. Above all he insisted on the need for rationality as the basis for thought and policy in the modern world and stressed the moral principles common to all religions which, like Renan, he says as having both origins and functions relating to society rather than divinity. Even though his financial circumstances apparently demanded the production of articles and some imaginative works that seem both hurried and trivial and have not remained in circulation, Farah 'Antūn clearly had, through his many publications, considerable influence on the development of modern Arab thought.

Salāma Mūsā (1887-1958)

Comprising some ten per cent of the inhabitants of Egypt, Copts have played a great role in the development of Arabic

literature in the 20th century, as they have in so many areas of Arab-Egyptian life. Of all Coptic literary figures Salāma Mūsā stands out as both the most prolific and the most widely read. Born towards the end of the 19th century and able to witness a period of rapid and radical change, he was deeply influenced by Farah 'Anṭūn, thirteen years older than himself, whose popularity was at its prime in his own most formative early adult years. The interests Mūsā himself developed closely paralleled those of the Syrian Christians Shumayyil and 'Anṭūn. Living to beyond seventy and enjoying the advantages denied to 'Anṭūn of the vastly expanded literate audience of the twenties and thereafter, Salāma Mūsā made a huge contribution to the spread of public education in Egypt of the century through the truly extraordinary number, range and acceptance of his numerous works.

Details of both background life and career are unusually full in the case of Mūsā thanks to his autobiography published in Arabic in his sixties in 1947 and made available in English translation in 1961.[42] He was born to a prosperous landowning family originating from Upper Egypt, in the important Delta agricultural center of Zagāzīg, the capital of Sharqīya province. His father, who had been a provincial government official, died in his early childhood and Mūsā was brought up by his mother and elder sisters and brother. He attended traditional Muslim and Christian primary schools in Zagāzīg for some years but transferred when a Coptic-run school was established in the town; he later again transferred when the first government primary school was set up there and in 1903 he received his certificate of primary education. This entitled him to further training in a publicly-supported secondary

school and he consequently attended the Tawfīqīya and Khedivial Colleges. He seems to have enjoyed his studies and been particularly enthralled with the range of interests and subjects examined in al-Muqtataf, Egypt's most impressive journal for the natural sciences at the time.

Abandoning formal education at this point, having no financial responsibilities and being able to live off his modest inheritance, Mūsā left in 1907 by way of Istanbul, for a period in France where he learned the language and became acquainted with European society. He returned briefly to Egypt the following year and visited the museums and ancient ruins of the Upper Nile, having apparently been frequently embarassed in France at his own inability to answer questions put to him about the heritage of his own country. Back in Cairo, he was invited to work for the nationalist newspaper established by Muṣṭafā Kāmil whose successors in the editorship had disturbed Muslim-Coptic relations. Its editor, ᶜUthmān Ṣabrī, invited Mūsā therefore to join the paper and work along with Farah 'Anṭūn, also a Christian, and help to reconcile the Egyptian people for a united front irrespective of religion against the British. Working with al-Liwā (The Banner) only four months, Mūsā was nevertheless able to know 'Anṭūn well and has frequently expressed his admiration for him. At one point in the Autobiography Mūsā goes as far as to say:

"...I found that we agreed on every subject we discussed. We used to talk much about socialism, and new literary tendencies, and the Egyptian political scene, and on everything we agreed, even when we discussed religion." (43)

His interest in developing his knowledge of the modern world

having been greatly stimulated by his personal contacts with 'Anṭūn, Ṣarrūf, Shumayyil and others whom he had met in the world of journalism in Cairo, Mūsā returned again to France, this time travelling via Switzerland. Living with a French family and attending school in a village near Paris, he was able to considerably deepen and expand his knowledge of French language and literature and the cultural life of the city. During this period he apparently developed a deep admiration for French family and country life and for the delicacy, finesse and clarity of French literary works.

Returning to Cairo for only two months after a stay in France of two years, Mūsā was soon back in Europe, this time in London, where he was to spend a period of utmost importance to the formation of his belief system and literary interests. Only briefly engaged in formal studies, at Lincoln's Inn where he studied law, Mūsā spent much time reading in the British Museum and became fascinated by the intellectual ferment of literary life in London. He became acquainted with Bernard Shaw, joined the Fabian Society, and came to know such figures as H.G. Wells, and Keir Hardie, the anti-imperialist Labor Party pioneer; his autobiography contains many references to their impact on his development. Mūsā had been introduced to evolutionary theories by articles in al-Muqtataf that he had read in Cairo and in London he began to delve into Darwin's writings with great seriousness. Anthropology and the study of early religions and superstitions also attracted him and he was fascinated by Frazer's The Golden Bough. He studied the Russian literary production of Tolstoy and Dostoevsky available in English translation and most highly regarded in British literary circles at the time. Ibsen's works interested him too for their social

content and depiction of the inferior position of women in European society; he witnessed some of the activities of the London 'suffragettes' movement.

He was particularly fascinated, as had been 'Anṭūn, by the work of Nietzsche and Mūsā's earliest original article, published in al-Muqtaṭaf in 1909 was on his philosophies. His earliest booklet, sent from London in the mail to Jurjī Zaidān at al-Hilāl magazine, appearing in 1910 under the title Mustaqbal Suberman (The Coming of Superman) was also clearly inspired by Nietzsche. In London Mūsā also studied psychology and was a serious student of Freud's psycho-analytical theories as well as of sexology.

Marx was also a dominant influence on the thinking of Salāma Mūsā and he considered a study of his theories essential to a full understanding of human history as well as in the analysis of international politics and even the mores and morals governing society. Mūsā accepted the view that a just distribution of a nation's resources was essential for its well-being and he maintained consistently throughout his life that progress in Egypt could only come after the application of socialist principles.

After a period of some four years spent in England Mūsā returned to Egypt and busied himself in writing and in the production of translations into Arabic of European works that had particularly appealed to him. He published a résumé of a work by Grant Allen on the Evolution of the Idea of God (Nushū' Fikrat Allāh; Cairo 1912), a rational and agnostic view of the comparative history of religious belief reissued at the turn of the century by the London Rationalist Press Association, whose activities, in disseminating rationalist and evolutionist views by propagating inexpensive texts, Mūsā hoped one day to evaluate. This was followed in 1913 by his thirty-page

tract al-Ishtirākīya (Socialism), one of the first studies ever printed in Arabic on socialism; the work was republished fifty years later, still during his lifetime, in 1962. His next work, also 1913, was a translation of part of Dostoevsky's Crime and Punishment. He failed, however, to find a publisher, was forced to pay all printing costs himself and eventually to dispose of the copies almost without charge; he never did complete the translation.

In 1914 Salāma Mūsā began publication of his own journal, al-Mustaqbal (The Future) Cairo's only weekly during its short lifetime. With the evolutionist Shiblī Shumayyil as its editor, the magazine adopted a policy of extreme modernism from the beginning and published articles and poems advocating the acceptance of evolutionary theory, European and socialist ideas on industrial progress and social organization and rationalist approaches to religion. Mūsā himself neatly defines its objectives in his autobiography:

"In it I struggled against the advocates of the past and its great achievements, who were lamenting for the sake of tradition, while I was advocating scientific views by which we might build our future. One of its issues contained an article entitled Allah in which I formulated ideas that a friend would consider liberal but which an enemy would not hesitate to label as pure heresy and atheism."(44)

According to Mūsā some 600 copies were sold each week and it seems to have been, unlike his earlier publication ventures, to have been financially sound until the ten-fold increase in the cost of paper after the commencement of the First World War. The journal's subsequent financial difficulties coincided with a request for it to

cease publication from the Directorate of Press Affairs office of the government and brought about its demise. Thus, after only sixteen issues, the magazine ceased to appear, having achieved little progress in Mūsā's later frankly stated "mission of demolition and reconstruction we were so much in need of." (45)

At this point Mūsā was invited by Mayy Ziyāda, the prominent Lebanese Catholic authoress, to become editor of the daily al-Mahrūsa (The Protected-epithet of Cairo) established in Cairo by her father, Elias Ziyāda. He accepted and worked on the paper for several months before retiring to his country estate at Zagāzīg, irked by the war-time government press restrictions. In the country he devoted himself to reading and some teaching but published no major work. In 1919 he returned to Cairo to observe and participate in the rebellion sweeping the country and to rejoin journalism, soon gaining employment with the monthly al-Hilāl. The following year he joined with three others in forming an 'Egyptian Socialist Party' but internal disagreements between the leadership soon broughts its dissolution.

From 1923 to 1929 Mūsā was chief editor of al-Hilāl and the period was one of much literary production from his own part. It was one of his duties as editor to write a new book each year to fill the gap over the summer vacation period when the magazine ceased regular publication. As a consequence he wrote several entertainment works of popular interest on such subjects as "History's most famous Love Affairs" and the "Most Famous Speeches and Orators" but he also found time to write some serious studies of educational importance. His al-ʿAql al-Bāṭin (The Subconscious, 1927), a study of theories of psychology, and his Hurrīyat al-Fikr wa Tā'rīkh Abṭālihā (Freedom of Thought and the History of its Heroes, 1928) came out at this period, as well as his

important Naẓarīya al-Taṭawwur wa 'Aṣl al-Insān (Evolution and the Origins of Man, 1928).

In 1929 Salāma Mūsā relinquished the editorship of al-Hilāl to begin his own monthly al-Majallat al-Jadīda (The New Magazine), which was joined the following year by a weekly, al-Miṣrī. However, new press laws introduced in 1930 by the government of Ismā^{c}īl Ṣidqī led to the suppression of both publications. By now Mūsā was an adherent of the opposition Wafd party and, accused of having written in favor of socialism and communism he was consequently arrested and briefly imprisoned. Three years later, he was permitted to begin republication of al-Majallat al-Jadīda and he remained its editor until 1942 when it was again suppressed at the order of the military authorities. An attempt to receive permission to publish a newspaper immediately thereafter was unsuccessful and, apart from a later short period of publication of a daily, Mūsā no more resumed his career as an editor-publisher. He worked on and contributed to, however, several other journals in the post-War period and continued his writing and publication of books. He was still an associate editor of the popular daily Akhbār al-Yawm (Todays News) at the time of his death in 1958.

Salāma Mūsā is credited with about fifty separate publications, some being reprints and collections of his journal articles. He first published a number of his best-known works in the journal al-Balāgh (The Report) in serial form, including his translation of Wilfrid Blunt's Secret History of the English Occupation of Egypt which, although not itself republished in book form, seems to have greatly influenced the view of many of his contemporaries as well as himself on Aḥmad ^{c}Urābī and British-Egyptian relations. He also published a number of short stories, usually on social themes and particularly the place of women

in society, but his talents were obviously more analytical than imaginative. Biography clearly interested him deeply and, apart from his own memoirs, perhaps the best autobiography in modern Arabic, he completed studies of the lives of Bernard Shaw and Mahatma Ghandi, with whom he also exchanged correspondance. A number of his works, especially those dealing with popular psychology, have gone into several printings and are currently in publication, and there can be no doubt of the influence he had in developing an acceptance of the ideals of socialism that have become so well established in contemporary Egypt.

A dedicated cultural revolutionary, Mūsā constantly attacked the backwardness of Eastern society and the sterility of the Arabic language and culture, advocating, as Luṭfī al-Sayyid had done, the use of colloquial in the written language and even the adoption of the Latin alphabet. For Mūsā literature had a distinct relevance to the needs of society and the concept of 'Art for Art's Sake' accepted so enthusiastically by other Egyptian literary figures like Tawfīq al-Ḥakīm he found far too restrictive, if not absurd. He argued for a universalist view of man's interactions as being the goal of a truly cultured man, whom he defined as one who:

"raises his personal consciousness to the level of world consciousness and this can only be done by voluntarily identifying one's own problems with the problems of mankind at large."(46) This philosophy did not, in his view deny or detract from Egyptian desires for freedom, independence and national pride, which he was himself active to inspire, especially in the thirties when he published his Miṣr 'Aṣl al-Ḥidāra (Egypt, Origin of Civilization; Cairo: 1935). His universalist view of man and his beliefs in the similar biological origins and social needs of all human beings were, moreover, complemented by his studies

on comparative religion and particularly the Bahā'ī movement. One cannot, then doubt Mūsā's deep influence in developing mutual understanding and respect between the religions in the contemporary Arab world.

The Lebanese-American Émigre Litterateurs--Jibrān (Gibran) Nu^{c}aima (Naimy) and al-Rīḥānī (Rihani)

Many Arabs, especially from the Ottoman provinces of Syria and Lebanon were, of course, amongst those waves of immigrants who came flooding into the expanding New World of the Americas in the middle and late 19th century. Centered chiefly along the East coast at first but soon becoming established in major cities all over the country, they tended both to maintain communal relationships with one another and to keep in touch with relatives and friends still in the Arab Middle East, as well as with the area's political, social and cultural developments. Their interests in these regards being only very poorly satisfied by the almost exclusively internal and European orientation of the American English-language press, various attempts were made to develop Arab journalism in North America and to also establish Arab literary and cultural clubs. Closely involved with such activities and with similar origins from Christian mountain villages of Lebanon, three writers stand out in particular as having made major contributions to the development of modern Arabic prose and one, Khalīl Jibrān (Kahlil Gibran) must be accounted one of the most successful writers, in terms of the breadth of his appeal, of the English language itself in the 20th century.

Jibrān Khalīl Jibrān (1883-1931)

Born in 1883 in the large village of Bisharrī high in the North-central region of Lebanon, Jibrān Khalīl Jibrān was the first of the three children of a villager who earned his living from the government by collecting taxes from peasants in the area. Jibrān's mother, originating also from the village, was the widow of a man who had emigrated with her to Brazil but died there, leaving her with one son. Jibrān attended the local Maronite parochial elementary school until the age of twelve when, in 1894, his mother took him and her other children to start a new life in the United States. His father, apparently unambitions if not alcoholic, preferred to remain in Bisharrī.

Arriving in Boston, where there was already a sizeable community of villagers from Bisharrī, the family took lodgings in the town's multi-ethnic Chinatown area. They were able to make a good start at earning their living; the eldest son, Buṭrus, soon received employment as a shop assistant and both mother and daughters served as seamstresses. Jibrān himself attended high school, showing particular promise in literature and a distinct gift for art. In his fifteenth year, however, he returned to Lebanon for further studies at the Jesuit College in Beirut, the Dār al-Ḥikma; it is unclear whether the family's willingness to bear the expense was more motivated towards encouraging his further study of Arabic or, rather, towards bringing about his absence from the corrupting influence of the attentions of a much older, married, American woman, a patroness of the Arts. (47)

Back in Lebanon Jibrān received a strict, formal education over a broad range of areas but, of course, with greatest emphasis on Arabic and religious studies. He was himself active in literary

production for the College's student journal and it was for it that he prepared an initial draft of his later famous work The Prophet. During this same four-year period he renewed contact with his father, spending vacations enjoying the idyllic mountain countryside in his company. He also apparently fell deeply in love with a Lebanese girl at this time but was prevented from marrying her by the religious hierarchy; his later literary work expressed a deep and fierce antipathy for priests and clerics.

Returning to Boston after a brief interim stay in Paris, Jibrān was faced with a period of severe family crisis and tragedy. Within the period of only one year and a half his younger sister, mother and half-brother all died in Boston from tuberculosis. His remaining sister continued to work as a seamstress and Jibrān himself spent his time painting portraits and composing romantic-philosophical poetry and aphorisms in Arabic chiefly for the New York newspaper al-Muhājir (The Émigré) published by Amīn Ghuraib. In this period he published his extraordinary little collection of three stories entitled: Spirits Rebellious that contained biting attacks on the ethics and morality and the political structure of Lebanese society; he also began making contributions to the popular Egyption monthly al-Hilāl. He had,moreover, the good fortune to meet Miss Mary Haskell, the owner of a girls' school in Boston, whose patronage he was to enjoy for the rest of his life. Their friendship, based on her interest and belief in his artistic ability, led to her contributing a regular, monthly allowance which permitted him to spend several years studying art and literature in Paris, from 1908 to 1911. In Europe Jibrān was deeply influenced by the work of Auguste Rodin, whom he met and whose interest in the human hand

is reflected in his own work; he was also clearly deeply inspired by the poetry and water colors of the early 19th century British visionary, William Blake.

On his return again from Paris, Jibrān spent a further year in Boston then moved to the city of New York, continuing to work as a portrait painter but becoming closely involved as well with the Syrian literary community there. He became a close associate of Naṣīb ᶜArīḍa, originally from Ḥums in Northern Syria and educated at the Russian Teacher's Institute in Nazareth. He made several contributions to ᶜArīda's artistic-cultural monthly al-Funūn that was eventually forced to cease publication for financial reasons when communications with the Arab world were disturbed by the outbreak of the First World War. Jibrān's work of the period clearly showed a new spirit of defiance against poverty and ill-fate mixed with misanthropy and agnosticism strongly suggestive of the impression that Nietzsche's philosophy and literary work was having upon him. Also towards the end of the decade, Jibrān became associated with the brief appearance of a new American English-language magazine, The Seven Arts, of which he acted as a co-publisher and a contributor; he later collected some of his prose-poems and proverbs first published in it and elsewhere for separate publication as a book, The Madman which came out in 1918.

By now becoming well-established as a fashionable portrait painter and with a growing reputation in Arabic literature, Jibrān's stature was soon such that in 1920 he was elected President of the al-Rābiṭa al-Qalamīya (The Pen League), a society formed by himself and seven other Syrian émigrés for the express purpose of revolutionizing and revitalizing Arabic literature. The group, limited to ten

active members, published chiefly in the successful semi-weekly journal al-Sā'iḥ (The Tourist), published in New York by ᶜAbd al-Masīḥ Ḥaddād, who was also a member of the al-Rābiṭa. Each year the journal produced a special edition devoted to contributions by active members which drew much attention in the Arab world. Articles, commentaries and criticisms of literary works and trends written by the members were frequently drawn and quoted from the journal's issues and reproduced in Arabic periodicals originating in the Middle East itself. Mikhāīl Nuᶜaima, a Syrian émigré trained as a lawyer, was, as Secretary of the al-Rābiṭa, a devoted literary critic and close friend and biographer of Jibrān, highly influential in the success achieved by the group.

In the fall of 1923 came the publication of what has proved to be Jibrān's most successful literary achievement, his famous The Prophet. Written in English and only translated into Arabic after the author's death it has since become both highly popular and influential in the Arab world and it is for it that Jibrān is best known today in both languages. The distillation after many rewritings and reconstructions of Jibrān's own personal ideas and philosophies, it clearly owes much of its form and arrangement to inspiration from Nietzsche's Thus Spake Zarathustra.

The work explores the last hours spent in the city of Orphalese by a mystical wise-man al-Mustapha,meaning the Chosen One, who descends from his mountain hermitage when he sees the ship arriving that is to carry him away to his place of birth after his period of long exile spent in the city. He walks down into the city where the people assemble in the square to bid him farewell and Almitra, the priestess of the temple, asks him to speak. Responding

to her questions, the Prophet is given the opportunity to expound on twenty-six aspects of life in the same number of separate sermons. Following these he delivers an emotional farewell oration and embarks on the ship that is to return him to the island of his birth.

Though clearly modelled, probably too closely to have been entire subconsciously, on Nietzsche, it is also a personal and subjective work. Jibrān was himself an exile and the essential philosophy expressed by the Prophet, in succinct, rhythmical prose, is a distillation of ideas he had himself expressed earlier. Highly reminiscent of the Bible in both word formation and tone, the thoughts are expressed in neat, carefully balanced aphorisms typical of his own work. The whole gives a sense of spiritual satisfaction and contentment that are remarkably effective and no doubt contribute to the book's amazing publication success. The original text was illustrated with a dozen delicate drawings by the author that give symbolic representation to some of the ideas and emotions expressed.

Published in 1923, The Prophet gave little early indication of its later success, when sales would move into the millions of copies, and Jibrān's personal financial position in fact worsened over the next several years. Losing all his savings in an unsuccessful real-estate venture, he was forced to devote himself to portrait painting rather than writing. As a consequence his next work, published in 1926 under the title Sand and Foam is in fact a collection of translations made by himself from his own earlier proverbs and aphorisms published in Arabic journals. Throughout the final decade of his life, moreover, Jibrān's health was poor and he was able to accomplish only one more literary work. His Jesus, The Son of Man, published in 1928, is somewhat longer than The Prophet, more original

in form and more imaginative. Over two hundred pages in length, it explores the life, message and importance of Christ as Jibrān visualized He would have been viewed by those with whom He came into contact. The work consists of some eighty reminiscences related sometimes in the first person by figures varying in historical importance from the Apostles to a "woman of Byblos". Each piece deals with a particular incident from His life or some aspect of His character or that of His society. The passages are typically short and succinct, and, like all Jibrān's English composition, reminiscent of the King James Bible in both wording and style. The picture of Christ that emerges from them is that of a human being of such a perfection of confidence, strength and dignity as well as goodness and compassion as to be unaffected and impervious to maltreatment or injustice, more the 'superman' of Nietzsche than the 'lamb' of the scriptures. This view of the nature of Christ's character and mission and his emphasis on His being the "Son of Man' accords with beliefs, frequently expressed in Jibrān's writings, of the inconsequential nature of the essential differences between the major religions.

By the time of Jibrān's early death in 1931, of cirrhosis of the liver with tuberculosis in one lung, he had achieved a considerable reputation in both Arabic and English as well as a sizeable personal fortune. His dream of returning to Lebanon to retire in the idyllic mountains where he had spent his youth was never realized, however, although his corpse was returned there for burial and received with every dignity and honor and conducted in a huge procession to its final resting place. A master-figure of

Lebanese literature, his works are still most highly regarded in Arabic, taught in the schools and even learned by heart and the depth of his influence may be easily demonstrated in some of the tone, imagery and style of present-day writers from the area. Nevertheless, although his early novella Khalīl al-Kāfir (Khalil the Heretic), the third story in the collection al-Arwāḥ al-Mutamarrida (Spirits Rebellious) was an example of social-political polemic in fictional form rare for Arabic in the first decade of the century, it has received comparatively little attention outside Lebanon. Stylistically, too, Jibrān's work is perhaps rather outside the mainstream of developments that have since occurred in Arabic literature. His love for the tone and vocabulary of the Bible, in both its Arabic and English forms, his long, complicated sentences especially in his earlier fiction in Arabic lend themselves best to reading aloud and are much more sonorous and poetic than much modern Arabic style which has a definite tendency towards the prosaic.

The characters in his fiction are, moreover, typically flat, symbolic representations of a type of person or representative of a social class rather than actual people realistically depicted. This is perhaps most neatly demonstrated in his The Forerunner, a slim collection of parables and poems he published in 1920, in which the chief center of interest is always an unparticularized representative of a group designation--'a man', 'a saint', 'a queen', 'four slaves' and so on. His characters, as is most appropriate in parables, which seek the broadest possible universal applicability, are never, even if named, explored as individuals; they have an ethereal quality like the naked but sexless figures in his drawings.

It is clear from Jibrān's letters and comments reported in his biography, as well as from analysis of his works themselves, that he saw his role in Arabic literature as that of social reformer as much as artist and his work is distinctly moralistic in tone and purpose. Often his main character, the inevitable hero-figure, will give an emotional oratorical address to the work's other assembled characters, exhorting them to rise up against the established political, social and religious order. That Jibrān saw fiction primarily as a tool for social reform is clearly demonstrated from a letter he wrote in 1919 to Emīl Zaidān, the editor of the Egyptian monthly al-Hilāl. He justifies his arguement for the continued development of fiction in Arabic by specifically making the bald and unequivocal assertion that: "It is stories and novels that have caused the social and political revolutions in Europe and America."(48)

Khalīl Jibrān deals, in all his works, with the most fundamental and strongest-felt of human emotions--love, grief, fear, hate and so on--and the ultimate mysteries of the nature of life and death themselves. Rather than developing profound original comment on any of these areas, Jibrān success seems to have lain in his wish and his artistic ability to give them succinct and poignant expression during a period when few other fiction writers were attempting to deal with these same fundamentals and were consciously shying away from the sentimentality of the 19th century romantics. The extra-ordinary popularity of his works in English as well as Arabic seems to indicate that his romantic-tragic, moralistic and sermon-like themes expressed in simple, striking vocabulary within an archaic Biblical style, have reached an emotional reservoir, particularly of the less sophisticated reading public, otherwise untapped in the

twentieth century literature of both languages.

Mīkhā'īl Nu^{c}aima (1889-

It is to Mīkhā'īl Nu^{c}aima that we owe much of our insight into the details of Khalīl Jibrān's life and character, through his excellent impressionistic biography of his close friend which he wrote, soon after his death, first in Arabic and then himself translated and published in an English version in 1950. The range of interests, abilities, training and character of the two men seem remarkably different in important areas but Nu^{c}aima, like Jibrān, is perhaps best known in the history of Arabic for his part in developing the short-lived but influential American-Arab literary school of the early decades of this century, even though the large bulk of his own writings have been produced in later years.

Mīkhā'īl Nu^{c}aima was born in the central Lebanese village of Baskinta in 1889, to a Greek-Orthodox family of small farmers.(49) He attended the village parochial elementary school, receiving a basic education in literacy until, in 1899, he was able to attend the high school established there that same year by Russia, which had undertaken the improvement of education for members of the Greek Orthodox faith over Palestine and Greater Syria. After three years study there, revolving largely around Arabic language and literature and the basic sciences but also including elementary Russian, he received a scholarship to go on in 1902 to the Teachers' Institute in Nazareth established by the 'Russian Imperial Palestinian Society' with the purpose of providing advanced training for the most gifted students from their schools scattered over the area. As well as higher studies in Russian and the sciences, the Institute laid great

emphasis on Arabic language and literature, and current authors and periodicals as well as the classics were made available to the students.

While Nu^{c}aima was developing his academic interests, especially into modern Russian literature and study of the life and mission of Christ, members of his family were seeking relief of their financial difficulties through emigration to North America. One brother left for the State of Washington in 1900 and was joined there by a second in 1906. That same year Mīkhā'īl himself graduated from the Nazareth Institute with a scholarship to Russia for further studies in theology. Attending the seminary at Poltava in the Ukraine for five years, he pursued his interests most deeply into romantic Russian poetry, being particularly influenced by Lermontov and even composing himself many poems, largely unpublished, in Russian. He was also deeply attracted to the work of the social-realist writers and reformers and, conscious of the comparative poverty of modern Arabic literature in that area, even attempted in 1909 to write a play depicting modern life in Lebanon; the play was not finished, however, until several years later, when it appeared in 1916 as al-Ābā' wa al-Banūn (Fathers and Sons).

By his final year at the seminary, Nu^{c}aima's interest in further studies within the Russian church seems to have faded and been replaced with concern for societal reform through more radical action than the religious hierarchy could have permitted; he was involved in a student demonstration that resulted in the closure of the seminary for several days and finally left Poltava shortly thereafter, having successfully completed his final examinations.

After a brief stay in Baskinta at the family farm, Nuᶜaima accompanied his brother back to Seattle, Washington, with the intention of persuing legal studies there. He learned English through private tutoring and greatly extended his understanding of the range of world literature and philosophy. During his second year as a student at Seattle he received a mailed copy of the new Arabic monthly al-Funūn (The Arts), published in New York by Naṣīb ᶜArīḍa, a friend with whom he had studied at the Nazareth Institute. The journal consisted largely of materials in translation from modern Western writers but there were also articles and poems in free verse by Jibrān and Amīn al-Rīḥānī as well as by ᶜArīḍa. Attracted by the journal's clearly expressed determination to assist in radical transformations and developments in Arabic literature, Nuᶜaima was inspired to write and offer for publication in it his first original article, an attack on outmoded forms and styles of Arabic literary production. The article was published and well received and Nuᶜaima continued to make frequent contributions to al-Funūn until it finally ceased to publish for the last time in 1918; during its five year life as a monthly it appeared so intermittently, however, due to financial troubles, that only 29 issues of the journal were published in total. When its serious difficulties began and it first ceased publication in December 1913, Nuᶜaima, like the others in his literary circle, continued their production in Arabic chiefly through the medium of al-Sā'ih (The Traveller), begun as a semi-weekly in New York in 1912 by ᶜAbd al-Masīḥ Ḥaddād, also an old friend and fellow student from the Nazareth Russian Teachers' Institute.

In 1916, when attempts were being made to revive al-Funūn, Nuᶜaima was persuaded, upon his graduation with his Bachelor's Degrees

in Arts and Law, to move to New York where he obtained modest employment in office work. From that time until his induction in the United States army for service in France in May 1918, Nu^{c}aima was active in attempting to reestablish the journal and was officially designated as director and assistant editor of two issues of al-Funūn that appeared earlier in the same year.

Nu^{c}aima's pieces in both journals consisted chiefly of literary-critical assessments of the work of current Arab writers and generalized interpretations and analyses of the nature of literature and its relationship with real life. He consistently expressed the view that literature must be closely linked and always relevant to the realities of life and the people in whose language it was expressed and he soon became known as a partisan of the new clear, simple and precise style in which some of the younger Arab literateurs were beginning to express themselves. He strongly criticized those writers still clinging to rigidly formal traditional styles in Arabic, both in poetry and in prose. In his own original contributions, his play al-'Ābā wa al-Banūn (Fathers and Sons), first published in serial form in al-Funūn, and in his short stories, he employed a style devoid of obscurity in vocabulary or syntax and close to the forms of Arabic being developed in journalism for purposes of mass communication. He, like Farah 'Antūn, however, generally denied the validity of the use of colloquial Arabic in written form in his works, even though himself writing the dialogue for several of the lower-class characters in his play in that medium.

In all, Nu^{c}aima's pre-War literary production was remarkably original and forward-looking, as is shown by the current popularity

and availability of both the play, an exploration of the absurdity of the social strains and conventions of the class structure of modern Lebanon and the critical articles, selections from which have been frequently republished since their first appearance in book form under the title al-Ghirbāl (The Sieve) in 1923. The original request for this book publication came, moreover, from an Egyptian publisher (50) and this fact demonstrates, with the book's introduction by ᶜAbbās Maḥmūd al-ᶜAqqād, one of Cairo's most prominent young critics at the time, the interest within the Arab world itself in the literary innovations of the Syrian émigré writers in America. Literary criticism of any calibre was, moreover, rare in Arabic writings of the period. Few other Arab writers had enjoyed so rigorous a schooling as Nuᶜaima in criticism and, unlike the others, he was satisfied to restrict his interests to literature itself as an art form, even though in his view necessarily relevant to society. Nuᶜaima's publications demonstrate no desire for a close examination of the current social, political, scientific and religious theories that had taken up so much of the attention of his predecessors and contemporaries in Arabic literature.

During the First World War Nuᶜaima saw action briefly at the front line in France and, upon completion of his army service, he returned to New York in late 1919. It was clear that the revival of al-Funūn was no longer possible and the following spring he took part in the formation of the literary-reformist society al-Rābiṭa al-Qalamīya (The Pen League), intended as an independent, exclusivist grouping of the chief contributors to al-Funūn who would henceforth always identify themselves as members in their signatures to whatever they might publish. Nuᶜaima acted as Secretary of the group and

drew up both their statement of purpose, membership rules and minutes. Despite his enthusiasm, however, they only produced one, that for 1921, of their projected annual collections to appear as special editions of al-Sā'ih and financial difficulties also prevented fulfillment of their objective of book publication of members' works as well as translations from Western languages. Nevertheless, the al-Rābita did gain considerable attention and some success in spreading their views on the need for reforming Arabic literature, especially when the Egyptian monthly al-Hilāl with its large circulation, began reproducing their articles.

Earning his living as a salesman, Nu^{c}aima's chief personal literary production immediately after the War was in poetry, published in the regular and special issues of al-Sā'ih; he also wrote a number of poems in English, some even appearing in the New York Times. The poems are consistently either despairing or stoical in tone, emphasizing and bemoaning the dichotomy between man's spiritual yearnings and his down-to-earth needs and the impossibility of successful reconciliation between them. They clearly express Nu^{c}aima's mood of the period, one of continuing depression at his war-time experiences, his unfulfilled emotional need for a woman he could love, and his sense of alienation from the materialist world of New York in which he was obliged to struggle for a meagre living. By 1930, however, his production of poetry had finally ceased and the only collection of his poetry, all from this period, was republished in 1945 under the title Hams al-Jufūn (Eyelid Whispers). It includes thirty poems originally in Arabic and Arabic translations of fourteen others he wrote originally in English and published in English-language periodicals. The volume also contains five

illustrative drawings, one by Jibrān, the rest by Nu^{c}aima.

His friendship with Jibrān was close and when the latter died in April 1931, Nu^{c}aima seems to have been deeply affected. Their critical views on the materialism of life in New York were closely similar and they had often discussed returning to live a life of pleasant solitude in the idyllic Lebanese mountains. In 1925, moreover, Nu^{c}aima published a short story in al-Sā'ih entitled the Cuckoo Clock which had been occasioned by his wish to deter a younger brother, the last at home with his aging parents, from leaving the family farm at Baskinta for emigration to America. The story (51) shows how a young Lebanese, abandoned by his fiancée in favor of an older but rich émigré, himself achieves material success abroad but only finds true happiness on returning to the simple life of the Lebanese mountains. There he lives in rustic happiness, revered by the country folk for his spiritual serenity and his message to them that satisfaction is only to be found in a life close to God and mother earth. The story seems to have been prophetic of Nu^{c}aima's own future course; one year following Jibrān's death and the return of his body to Lebanon for burial, he himself left America for the last time. Returning, at the age of forty-two to the family farm, he has lived there modestly ever since, revered as a philosopher-hermit and giving occasional talks and lectures at educational and social organizations and continuing his readings and writing.

His first major literary undertaking on his return to Baskinta was the completion of a full biography of Jibrān and it is for this work, perhaps more than any other, that he is best known today.

Drawing on information provided by Mary Haskell, Jibrān's American patroness, and from his own knowledge of his background and personality he was able to construct a moving and convincing account that is also very revealing of the author himself. First published in Beirut in 1934, it has since reappeared many times in Arabic and was published in Nuᶜaima's own translation in New York in 1950.

Over the almost four decades that have so far elapsed since his retirement to Lebanon, he has produced a steady stream of publications. In 1932 in Beirut he published twelve short philosophical essays under the title al-Marāḥil (Stages) and in 1936 seventeen more lectures and talks, identified by date and place, that he had delivered on various occasions after his return, under the title Zād al-Maᶜād (Food for the Hereafter); this was first published in Cairo. Both collections explore and explain his personal convictions which relate fundamentally to a denial of materialism and an acceptance of theosophical beliefs, which had appealed to him ever since his student days in Seattle, Washington. (52) A pessimistic belief that modern industrial civilization is constantly and inevitably leading to civil turmoil and war, is added to these concerns and expressed in other collections of essays published in book form, in 1945 al-Bayādir (The Threshing Floors), the long essay al-Awthān (Idols), Beirut: 1946 and in Sawt al-ᶜĀlam (Voice of the World), Cairo: 1948. Much the same ideas and attitudes are reiterated in the later essay collections al-Nūr wa al-Daijūr (Light and Gloom), Beirut: 1950 and in Fī Mahab al-Rīḥ (Wind-blown), Beirut: 1953.

Several other later works which may categorized approximately as prose fiction, published since the late forties, may be included with the biography of Jibrān to account chiefly for Nuᶜaima's

continuing high reputation in Arabic letters. The first, The Book of Mirdad is his only work to be first written in English. It was originally published in Beirut in 1948 and later republished in Bombay and London; the work's first Arabic edition, translated by the author himself, appeared in 1952 and it has since been republished several times. An allegory in two parts, the story has its inspiration in the Lebanese mountains of Nu^{c}aima's home and in a legend based on the Biblical Ark and Noah's establishment of a temple where it came to rest after the Flood. Eventually, the monks who succeed Noah in the governance of the Ark-Temple are persuaded, having grown in the meantime exceedingly rich, by a servant-turned-prophet to divest themselves of their material holdings. But the Abbot in command of the temple resists, and is finally sentenced to remain there, bound and dumb until the arrival of a new prophet.

The narrator of the story, resisting all advice, determines to make his way up the near-impassable mountain side to seek the temple site. He makes his way with great difficulty up the tortuous and dangerous ascent but, on the way is exposed to sexual temptation, robbed of his clothes and rendered unconscious. He awakens to find himself in the presence of the accursed Abbot, who confirms to him the truth of the legendary story of the spell put on him by the Prophet Mirdad, which is now broken by the narrator's arrival. The Abbot hands over, as he had been commanded, Mirdad's book preserved there in an iron chest beneath the alter, along with his own clothes. Finally the Abbot is transformed into a rock, in the shape of a wild beast, and the narrator is left alone to descend once more without difficulty.

The second part of the work, comprising some nine-tenths of the whole, consists of the text of this book of Mirdad. Divided into thirty-seven very short chapters, it is in the form of reports made by a monk, Naronda, of the actions and speech of Mirdad during the latter part of his stay in the temple. The anecdotes, of relationships between the temple-dwellers and Mirdad and their disagreements and antagonisms, serve to introduce sermons in which Nu^{c}aima's theosophic philosophies may be propounded. Faith, death, love, and sex are typical subjects examined and throughout there is the expression of the idea fundamental to theosophy that it is actually within Man himself that God exists. The style of the work is extremely succinct, economical and careful in both its English and Arabic versions and the simple vocabulary and sentence structure transmit the ideas with great clarity. Although original in detail, treatment and philosophies, the essential theme--that of prose fiction serving to introduce a mystical Prophet sermonizing on fundamental religious and social ideas, is, of course, scarcely new to world literature. The work is clearly a variation and extension of Nietzsche's Thus Spake Zarathustra and Jibrān's The Prophet, with both of which Nu^{c}aima was intimately acquainted.

From his earliest days as a writer Nu^{c}aima had been contributing short stories and he must be considered, indeed, to be one of the earliest true exponents of the genre in modern Arabic literature. His early story Sanatuhā al-Jadīda (Her New Year), first published in 1914 and reappearing in the seven-story collection Kāna Mā Kāna (Once Upon a Time) and twice analyzed in English, (53) is an effective treatment in classic short-story style, of a rather melodramatic and improbable subject. Other stories are autobiographical,

as is the case of the early novella Mudhakkirāt al-'Arqash (Memoirs of Pock-Face), later published in Naimy's translation under the title Memoirs of a Vagrant Soul in New York in 1952. Liqā' (Meeting) too, also a novellette and the title story of a collection first published in 1948 and similarly translated into English by Naimy, under the title Till We Meet, (Bangalore: 1957), is autobiographical in its portrayal of the platonic artist Leonardo as well as lyrical-romantic, sentimental and visionary in its treatment. A frequent theme in his stories, especially the earlier ones, is a critique of the class structure of Lebanon and the absurdity of the veneration during the late Ottoman period accorded titles that could be easily bought. His later short stories, written in the forties and fifties, have been collected and published in Arabic under the title 'Akābir (Grandees) and Abū Batta (He with 'Fat Calves'). They cover a broad range of subjects and incidents set in the world of concrete reality but are exploratory of fundamental emotions and values and eternal truths. Many of his characters therefore tend to be idealized and his situations, with all their sense of mystery and drama, tend to appear somewhat contrived.

Nu^{c}aima's biography of Khalīl Jibrān probably remains today the work for which he is best known and admired. Assessments of the work, as in Dr. Khalīl Ḥāwī's study on Jibrān, that Nu^{c}aima's at times unflattering portrait of his friend is due to envious bias and that his approach lacks scholastic detachment and accuracy,(54) have not been widely accepted. His own autobiography, the three-volume Sab^{c}ūn (Seventy), similarly demonstrates his notable gift for making the lives of others interesting to his readers. Nevertheless, apart from the clear historical importance of his early contributions

to the development of modern Arabic letters, both as critic and creator, it is difficult to assess effectively the probable lasting impact of his writings. For all the apparent limitations of his personal experiences and the restricted scope of the philosophies he reiterates, he has been active for many decades over a remarkably broad range of Arabic literary production, including drama, the semi-realist short story and allegorical-philosophical fiction as well as biography, criticism and even poetry. Although the popularity of the never-married and proudly celibate hermit of al-Shakhrūb, his mountain summer home, is today chiefly restricted to Lebanon, he has certainly become there a legendary figure in his own time.

Amīn al-Rīḥānī (1876-1940)

Amīn al-Rīḥānī, like the other two major figures of the American-Arab school of letters, was Christian, Lebanese in birth and childhood, an emigrant to the United States and an author in both English as well as Arabic. Nevertheless, many of al-Rīḥānī's interests and literary activities contrast more than parallel those of Jibrān and Nu^{c}aima. A far more prolific writer, with a considerably greater range of travel and life experience than either of the others, his work differs most fundamentally from that of his two compatriots in being primarily concerned with the practical here-and-now of human life than with the mystical hereafter. A rational analyst and commentator on political and social life more than a visionary theorist and philosopher, his work has, in fact more in common with that of Farah ʾAnṭūn and Salāma Mūsā, both active in Egypt, than with that of the other two most prominent members of the American 'Mahjar' school of the early and middle twentieth century.

Al-Rīḥāni was born in the mountain village of al-Furaika, in central Lebanon, where his father was a partner in a small silk factory owned by the family. Amīn attended parochial school there in his early years and also received a basic elementary education in Arabic and French in a school managed by Na ^{c}ūm Mukarzil. In 1888 Mukarzil, a would-be journalist, emigrated to New York in the company of the twelve-year old al-Rīḥānī and his uncle, leaving the boy's parents in Lebanon to settle the family's affairs; the silk trade was beginning to decline at that period. After his arrival in New York, al-Rīḥānī received further education in English at a convent school but was soon obliged to assist in the family's commercial

enterprise, established after his father and mother arrived in the city the following year. Throughout his teens, we are told, (55) he continued his education by devoting himself to studying at home until the small hours and he apparently found time to read extensively in a variety of fields, becoming especially interested in the 19th century rationalists and social philosophers and also in the dramatic genius of Shakespeare. He spent three months on the professional stage with an American touring company in his late teens, having received training earlier at a drama school for a period; the financial failure of the company eventually forced his return to his work as clerk in the family business in New York. By his early twenties, however, he had decided on a career in the law and he studied by night to gain entry to college. After only one year actively studying law in New York as a full-time student, he concluded that his real interest lay in literature.

In 1898 al-Rīḥānī returned to Lebanon, chiefly for health reasons it seems, and took employment teaching English at the "Lebanese School" at Qurna Shahwān near Beirut. He spent the following period of one year there also conscientiously studying Arabic, having become aware of the deficiencies of his knowledge of the classical literature of his own native language. In later published comments he stressed the hatred his early schooling in his village had inspired in him for Arabic studies and he related how his new interest in and respect for Arab civilization came to life only after reading Thomas Carlyle's study of the Prophet Muhammad.

During the course of his studies he was clearly much impressed with the work of the blind pessimistic ᶜAbbāsid poet Abū alᶜ-Alā al-Maᶜarrī and busied himself translating some of his verses into

English. The resulting translations were finally published, after his return to the United States, along with a fifteen-page introduction in New York in 1903 under the title The Quatrains of Abu al-Alā. In the preface to the 126 selected quatrains, al-Rīḥānī describes the poet rather extravagantly as "the Lucretius of al-Islam, the Diogenes of Arabia, the Voltaire of the East" and suggests that it was directly from him that Omar Khayyam, whose fame at that time was at its peak in the Western world through Fitzgerald's translation, drew his inspirations:

"I do not say that Omar was a plagiarist, but I say this: Just as Voltaire, for instance, acquired most of his liberal and sceptical views from Hobbes, Locke and Bayle, so did Omar acquire his from Abu'l-Alā."(56) The emphasis here on choosing the origins of 18th century rationalist thought to make his point is no doubt illustrative of al-Rīḥānī's personal interests at his stage of his life.

From a strange little tale al-Mukārī wa al-Kāhin (The Muleteer and the Priest), first published in New York in 1902, at the Arabic press established by Naʿūm Mukarzil, his former teacher in Lebanon, and later republished with a few additional notes by the author in Beirut in 1934, we gain further insight into the direction of al-Rīḥānī's early thinking. No doubt autobiographical in several areas and polemic more than fiction, the central character Abū Tannūs is a muleteer and one-time merchant who emigrated to the United States and whose life had proved a constant battle with the priestly establishment both in Lebanon and New York. The muleteer, we are told, although himself uneducated, had a young Syrian writer working for him who was expert in French and who fed his anti-clerical

feelings by telling him of: "Voltaire, whose works he used to read a great deal" (57) and the French writer's continuing strife with the Church. The plot of the story is simple in the extreme; Abū Tannūs is the sole companion of a priest in an evening coach ride from Beirut into the mountains. On the way they engage in conversation and Abū Tannūs seizes the opportunity to launch a vicious attack on the Lebanese clergy in general and the lone priest himself, he charges them with hypocrisy and exploitation in the severest terms. The priest is dumbfounded at the nature and strength of the attack from his travelling companion, a mere lowly peasant, and responds by striking out with his stick. Abū Tannūs counters by offering his other cheek and the priest sinks into a state of shock, soon leaving the carriage to proceed by foot. Praying and contemplating his past life in the moonlight and early dawn, he sees the justice of the criticisms made and determines to reform. The story ends with a brief report of his new attitudes, inspired in part by a conciliatory letter that follows from Abū Tannūs. The priest advises his son to give up studying for the ministry in Rome and spends all his wealth in providing food for the poor. The religious hierarchy, shocked at his actions and their implications, imprisons him in a monastery reserved for treatment of lunatics and there, it is said, he soon dies, beaten to death by the monks!

Al-Rīḥānī's literary activities seem to have attracted great attention in the émigré community of New York and within several years of his return to the city he had obtained a high reputation; he published articles extensively in Arabic journals and delivered many speeches to literary groups. These speeches, along

with his essays, appeared chiefly in the daily al-Hudā (Guidance) and a weekly al-Iṣlāḥ (Reform). His anti-clericalism, so clearly expressed in the novella, was reflected in much of his work of the period and he consistently denied the validity or importance of denominational religious differences and insisted on the need to develop a new cohesiveness amongst Arabs based on feelings of national solidarity. The influence of his anti-clerical views, expressed immediately following the turn of the century, may well have strongly influenced Jibrān's work in a similar vein published half a decade later.

Religious reform was merely one of al-Rīḥānī's concerns of the time; his interest in broader reforms of society was expressed in both his journalistic articles and his addresses as well as in another pamphlet he published in Arabic in New York in 1903, the Mūjiz Tārīkh al-Thawrat al-Faransīya (Short History of the French Revolution), a critique of Thomas Carlyle's famous study. Al-Rīḥānī and his three friends Shiblī Dammūs, ᶜĪsā al-Khūrī and Jamīl Maᶜlūf, all active in New York's reformist Arabic press of the time, considered themselves, probably not without justification, the best Arab experts on the French Revolution, (58) which they believed could form a model for the future political development of the Arab world. al-Rīḥānī, it is interesting to note, specialized in study of the life of Robespierre and published several articles on him in Dammūs' weekly al-Iṣlāḥ.

In 1904 al-Rīḥānī set out to return to the Arab world, his health having gradually deteriorated once more in New York. On the way he stopped in Egypt, spending a whole winter season there and becoming acquainted with the Khedive ᶜAbbās Ḥilmī and many of the

most prominent political and literary leaders in the country. Arriving at last in Lebanon, he delighted in the mountain scenery, composed prose-poetry and articles in its praise and continued to expand his reading. He was also active in developing his reputation there through public addresses and articles in the local journalism. Throughout the period of the duration of the Ottoman constitution, from 1908-1913, he wrote frequently in favor of true constitutional government, a vain hope for Arabs at a time of rising Turkish-racial nationalist feeling. The courageousness and optimism of his own political message is hinted by the very title of one of his pamphlets of the time, published in Beirut in 1908: Fī Nār al-Murāqaba wa Nūr al-Dustūr (In the Fires of Censorship and the Light of the Constitution).

Within this same period he returned briefly to New York for publication in 1911 of his second work in English, the Book of Khalid, a piece of autobiographical fiction recounting the reminiscences of a Syrian émigré and his difficulties in acclimatizing to the materialist world of North America with all its differing values and customs. Its publication coincided with the appearance in Beirut of his Rīḥānīyāt (Selections from al-Rīḥānī), a collection of his speeches, essays and poems published in Arabic up to that time. Appearing first in Beirut in two volumes in the years 1910 and 1911, the selections have proved of lasting appeal and have been since reprinted several times along with later additions. The articles and speeches, printed and delivered both in America and the Arab world, range widely from intellectual discussions of religious theory and ethics, to literary criticism. There are also highly polished descriptive essays on such subjects as "the View from Brooklyn Bridge" and

"The Furaika Valley--or a return to nature". The essays also demonstrate his keen interest in social reform and in the problems presented by industrial growth both to individuals and their environment as well as in contemporary international affairs; one article, for example, deals with the war then raging between Japan and Russia.

Shortly before the outbreak of the First World War, al-Rīḥānī returned to New York once more and became active in propagating the idea of Arab freedom and independence and attacking the policies being followed by Germany and Turkey. He welcomed the beginnings of the Arab revolt under the Sharīf Ḥusain in the Hedjaz in 1916 most enthusiastically and, in a constant flow of publication, stressed the needs for Arab unity to achieve political and social progress. Before the war ended and inspired by reading Washington Irving's The Alhambra, al-Rīḥānī visited Spain and was deeply impressed by the magnificence of the remains of the Arab civilization in Andalusia and further convinced of the need to develop his personal knowledge of early Arab cities. Shortly, therefore, following the end of the War he set out on his first trip to Arabia. His wife, a painter of Scottish ancestry whom he had met and married in New York during the War, refused, however, to accompany him and returned to her former home in California.

Before deciding to make the journey al-Rīḥānī had been in correspondence with a former friend, Constantine Yanī, who was then on the staff of the Sharīf Ḥusain and he received encouragement and promises of help in arranging the trip from them. His interests in visiting Arabia seem to have been chiefly twofold--to demonstrate that an Arab writer could, in fact, explore and describe the deserts of the Peninsula equally as well as the European adventurers like

Doughty and Burton, whose works were becoming so well known and secondly, to attempt to bring about reconciliation between the warring princes of Arabia to further the cause of Arab unity. The disappointment felt by all Arabs at the failure of the European Powers to either live up to the American President Wilson's famous fourteen-point declaration or even to their own earlier formal promises, was fully shared by al-Rīḥānī. The dangers of conflict developing between the desert prince Ibn Saʿūd and his Wahhābī followers and the Hashemite Kings was, moreover, obvious to all.

On his way to Arabia in 1922 al-Rīḥānī stopped in Egypt for a short period and there he was welcomed and fêted as a famous author and given the opportunity to deliver a number of speeches. In the following period of two years he travelled extensively over the Hedjaz, into the Yemen, through the Hadramaut region and up the Persian Gulf, visiting Bahrain and Kuwait and ending his journey to Furaika with a stay in ʿIraq. Although his meetings with the Sharīf Ḥusain and with Ibn Saʿūd did not prevent their conflict, his journey was by any measure most successful and productive. He managed, according to his own accounts, not only to be received by each of the rulers of the areas he visited but also to engage with them in lengthy and far-ranging discussions. Perhaps his greatest achievement in this regard was in gaining access to the court of ʿAbd al-ʿAzīz Ibn Saʿūd in Nejd, where he apparently stayed for no less than six weeks. Each of the rulers, it seems, agreed with his arguments in favor of a conference in Mecca to organize their policies and reconcile their disputes, but, of course, neither it nor the unified Arab policies he hoped for in fact resulted.

Despite the extreme difficulties of terrain, climate, communications and the constant danger of attack from hostile bedouins, he took extensive notes and photographs throughout his expedition and the materials were later included in several of his publications in Arabic and English. His interests were very broad and he took careful account of physical, natural and archeological features, tribal customs and alliances as well as details of the political and social structure of the tribes and the towns he visited.

Apart from many articles and speeches, several major works resulted from his contact with Arabia. In 1924 in Beirut came publication of his Mulūk al-ᶜArab-aw riḥla fī al-bilād al-ᶜarabīya (Kings of the Arabs--or a journey in the Arab countries) and this was followed within several years by voluminous contributions to the store of material available in English on conditions in Arabia. Brought out by reputable New York and London publishers, they represented the most extraordinary publishing success in their genre ever achieved in the Western world by an Arab writer; both his: Ibn Saoud of Arabia and The Maker of Modern Arabia appeared, respectively in London and New York, in 1928, complete with maps, illustrations and many photographs. Travelling to London for publication of his book, al-Rīḥānī also wrote a number of articles for the Times on the critical situation developing in the Hedjaz between the forces of Ibn Saᶜūd and the Hashimites. These studies were followed in 1930 by two more major publications on Arabia, his Arabian Peak and Desert-Travels in the Yaman and his Around the Coasts of Arabia, the former appearing in London, the latter in Boston.

The months spend writing his works on Arabia had not, however, resulted completely in al-Rīḥānī's ceasing to concern himself with

local conditions in Lebanon and Syria under the control of the French occupation. This period of great literary activity also saw the publication of two works of immediate political impact. His interpretative history: al-Nakabāt-aw Khulāṣa Tārīkh Sūrīya (Disasters - or a Résumé of the History of Syria) and his short polemical reformist tract: al-Taṭarruf wa al-Iṣlāḥ (Radicalism and Reform), containing essays and printings of speeches, were pointedly directed towards maintaining Arab morale under circumstances of direct foreign control.

Having returned to New York and arranged a civil divorce from his estranged wife, al-Rīḥānī devoted himself wholeheartedly in the early thirties to defense of the Arab point of view in the growing struggle in Palestine with the Zionists intent on establishing there as a separate Jewish political entity the "national home" for the Jews referred to so vaguely in the Balfour declaration of 1917. He travelled and published extensively on the Palestine question, stressing for Arab audiences the dangers of Zionist expansion and for English-speaking audiences the justice of the Arab resistance to further Jewish immigration.

Returning once more to the Middle East and taking up residence again in al-Furaika with his mother there, he made in 1933 a speech comparing the overt, brutal tyranny of the Ottoman's control with the subtle but organized tyranny of the French mandate. As a result he was arrested and exiled from the country. He travelled to Baghdad, living as a guest of the new King Ghāzī and writing his life of the former King of Iraq, Faiṣal the First, whom he had known on his earlier visits there ten years before.

The work appeared in Arabic in 1934 in Beirut and that same year his exile from Lebanon was lifted, after intervention on his behalf by the British and American governments; the Lebanese and Syrian communities in America had also helped by threatening to boycott French products if the exile were not revoked. In Lebanon once again, al-Rīḥānī was warned that, like other writers, he must avoid all discussions of either politics or religion and he reluctantly accepted the restriction. In the same year of his return, 1934, he wrote and published in Beirut a short play Wafā' al-Zamān (The Fulfillment of Time) on the occasion of the celebrations of the thousand-year commemoration of the birth of the Persian literary genius al-Firdawsī; the play received a high honor from the Iranian government.

Al-Rīḥānī remained for several years resident in al-Furaika, passing his time continuing his writing and engaging in discussions with his friends and admirers; he continued active in propagating the Arab arguments on the Palestine problem throughout the period, chiefly in newspaper publications. He also published, in 1935, one further major study, the Qalb al-ʿIrāq (The Heart of Iraq) that was lyrically descriptive of the country's history and geography but critical of British Mandate policies. In 1936, invited to deliver a series of lectures on the Arab Near East, he returned to the United States. He lectured all over the country, including the West coast states, talking on literary contacts between East and West, the literature of the modern Arab world, the Palestine problem and the effects of the Mandates on political, social and intellectual life in the area.

On completion of his tour, he returned to Lebanon, for the last time, visiting Morocco on the way. He conducted a thorough tour of the country, meeting the top intellectual and political leaders and studying the life and customs of the people. The results of his observations were published eventually in a further book, his al-Maghrib al-Aqṣā (Morocco) published posthumously as late as 1952. The last few years of his life were spent continuing his activities in journalism and speaking engagements and carrying out detailed field research and explorations of Lebanon itself. The book he planned, partly autobiographical of his early childhood, was, however, interrupted by his death in September 1940 and was only published in 1947 in its unfinished form by his brother Albert, under the title: Qalb Lubnān (The Heart of Lebanon).

Al-Rīḥānī was, of course, well acquainted with the other members of the Lebanese-American émigré groups in New York, influencing and being influenced by them; he was for a period associated with the early activities of the al-Rābiṭa al-Qalamīya (The Pen League) and knew both Nuʿaima and Jibrān well. His relationship with the latter was at times strained, but al-Rīḥānī, a person of very different character himself, admired the romantic-mystic artist of The Prophet, and delivered a funeral oration in his praise after the return of his body to Lebanon for burial. He also knew Mayy Ziāda well, meeting her first in Cairo in the early twenties and keeping up a regular correspondence with her; he was of great assistance to her in bringing her back to a degree of sanity after her mental breakdown in Lebanon in the late thirties.

The work of al-Rīḥānī continues to enjoy some popularity in the Arab world today, especially in Lebanon, where he remains

a revered national figure, considered a towering genius in the literature of that country throughout this century. His achievement in becoming a major writer in Arabic was all the more remarkable for his comparatively late decision to give the language serious study; although never accepted as a great stylist in Arabic, he clearly did learn to write accurately and precisely. To all accounts, a character of considerable personal courage and determination, he seems to have lived himself in accord with the personal maxim and motto he frequently promulgated, in all his own works which are marked by uncommon directness and frankness: "Qul kalimatak wa imshi!"--"Say your piece and begone!" The continuing popularity of his writings is attested by their current availability; all thirty of his Arabic works have recently been published in Lebanon as a complete set.

The Beginnings of Modern Fiction in Egypt

Although, as has been seen, prose fiction had shown some development in the very late 19th and early 20th century in the literary activities of authors of mainly Syrian origins--particularly Zaidān and 'Anṭūn in the historical and psychological novel, the émigrés al-Rīḥānī and Jibrān beginning social protest fiction and Nuᶜaima descriptive realism in the short story--no Egyptian authors had yet worked in a comparable genre of fiction. Muḥammad al-Muwailiḥī, a son of Ibrāhīm al-Muwailiḥī (1844-1906), a courageous reformist who had briefly published Arabic journals with strongly anti-Khedive and Ottoman Sultan editorial policies in Egypt, Naples and Paris and eventually became a close associate of al-Afghānī, is credited with one of the earliest Egyptian attempts at fiction.

Muḥammad al-Muwailiḥī (1858-1930)

Born in Cairo in 1858 to a wealthy land-owning family, Muḥammad, like his father, Ibrāhīm, was attracted to the Egyptian independence movement and became an early follower of both ᶜUrābī Pasha and al-Afghānī. He is said to have learned French, Turkish and Italian as well as some English and travelled extensively with his father over Europe and himself visited Syria and the Hedjaz. He also assisted his father in his journalistic enterprises and particularly in the editorship of their influential Miṣbāḥ al-Sharq (Torch of the East), a weekly political and literary journal that appeared in Cairo. Following his father's death Muḥammad became a government employee in the 'Awqāf department, retiring from that position soon after the outbreak of the First World War. A frequent

contributor to the Cairo daily press, he is best known for his work Ḥadith ʿIsā ibn Hishām, first published in serial form in the Miṣbāḥ al-Sharq and later published several times in slightly expanded versions.

The book tells, in the first person singular, how the narrator, identified in the title, saw a vision of himself wandering through a graveyard in Cairo contemplating the vanity of man when a tomb opened to emit back to life a Pasha who had been a high military official at the time of Muḥammad ʿAlī. The work revolves around the discussion and observations of the narrator, ʿIsā, and the Pasha and those they meet on tours of contemporary Egypt and France to view the results of modern progress. The device enables the author to develop criticism of Egyptian administrative practices and dialogue and argumentation over the relative values of Eastern and Western philosophies and the nature of the effects of rapid Westernization and material change on the customs and attitudes of people in both Egyptian urban and country life. The arguments are presented wittily, the exchanges convincingly developed and a great range of subjects are examined. Their discussions and adventures involve the Egyptian legal system, both civil and religious, the medical profession and social customs, European as well as Egyptian. In general, Pasha and ʿIsā conclude that the developments in their world have meritorious as well as blameworthy aspects. Although normally classified as fiction, the work clearly does not meet some of the artistic requirements normally considered essential for a novel. Although of sustained length average for the novel form, it is not a complete whole as it now stands, despite the later additions made to it with each publication until the author's death in 1930.

At the work's end the Pasha is still alive and as Professor Gibb observed: "there are suggestions in the course of the book that the author had forgotten the scene with which his narrative opens."(59) There is no development of plot, merely adventures from time to time, and no climax; the progression is through a sequence of episodes and conversations occasioned by a series of visits and tours. There are, similarly, no changes or progression in the characters themselves. ʿIsā ibn Hishām has, therefore, more in common with ʿAlī Mubārak's ʿAlam al-Dīn, a work of basically similar form and purposes, published in Alexandria in 1882, than with the great developments that were to follow in Arabic fiction in the 20th century. Al-Muwailiḥī's literary inspiration, was, moreover, limited; he wrote no further fiction and it is chiefly for this one work that he is today known, apart from his editing and publication in Istanbul of some of the medieval Arabic classics. It is the style primarily of his major work that may be presumed to account for its continuing appeal. The language of ʿIsā ibn Hishām, although occasionally simple and direct, is generally antiquated in both syntax and vocabulary, and has a quaintness and a finesse in the contrived balancing of phrase and sentence that are more reminiscent of the Maqāmāt of decades earlier than the more prosaic styles of al-Muwailiḥī's literary contemporaries.

Muṣṭafā Luṭfī al-Manfalūṭī (1876-1924)

Somewhat more directly in the line of development of modern Arabic fiction in Egypt comes the work of Muṣṭafā Luṭfī al-Manfalūṭī. He was born in the village of Manfalūṭ in Asyūt province of middle-Upper Egypt of a respected middle-class family. There he attended

the village school and learned the Koran by heart by the age of eleven, when he was sent to the seminary of al-Azhar. He remained studying there for ten years. He was clearly much influenced by Sheikh Muḥammad ᶜAbduh and came to know him well, both at al-Azhar and after leaving the seminary. He seems to have been unimpressed by the traditional teaching methods there and his interests were more in the cultural, literary legacy of Arabic than in study of Islamic law and the Koran. He was deeply influenced by the work of the Arab translators and interpreters of Western society expressed in the journals of the time. He contributed himself both in prose and poetry to the conservative Muslim Journal al-Muᶜayyad, edited by Sheikh ᶜAlī Yūsuf. While still a student at al-Azhar, moreover, he had been accused of helping write an ode attacking the Khedive ᶜAbbās and was briefly imprisoned as a result; the incident no doubt contributed to his reputation rather than detracting from it, occuring as it did at a time when the Khedive's popularity was at a low level.

Apparently deeply saddened by the death of ᶜAbduh in 1905, whose friendship and patronage he had enjoyed for a number of years, he retired to Manfalūṭ for two years, meanwhile continuing his contribution of essays on morality and social change, Western materialism versus Eastern spiritualism and so on, as well as short stories, both adapted and original, to the Cairo press. On his return to the city he was appointed by Saᶜad Zaghlūl, who had been impressed by his publications and was now Minister of Education, to be an official in the Ministry. When Zaghlūl moved to the Ministry of Justice, al-Manfalūṭī went with him, but left when Zaghlūl left the Ministry. He continued to write for various journals until, in

the 1923 Parliament, Zaghlūl appointed him to membership in a senate literary committee. He died soon thereafter.

It is said that al-Manfalūṭī knew no foreign languages well enough to read for himself but persuaded friends to translate from French for him; their translations, verbally expressed, he then adapted himself into his own eloquent and polished classical Arabic. He adapted thus, amongst others, Edmond de Rostand's Cyrano de Bergerac, under the title al-Shāᶜir (The Poet) and Bernadine de St.-Pierre's Paul et Virginie, which he entitled al-Fāḍila (The Virtuous Woman). Other works are collections of adaptations of short stories and articles and it is for these that he is best known today. The first, al-ᶜAbarāt (Tears) published in book form in 1915 and since republished, consists of nine stories, three original, one an adaptation and five translated from unnamed but apparently French authors. The themes are all sad and romantic, one of the original tales dealing with the tragic lot of an orphan, and the other two showing how only tragedy is brought into the lives of people, personally known to the author, who become influenced by European customs and values and attempt to change their own society. The second collection, al-Naẓarāt (Glances)first published in book form with a long and illuminating introduction in 1920 shortly before his death, is in three volumes and consists of his stories and articles previously published in journals.

The content of the articles and stories of al-Manfalūṭī shows that he had a strong awareness of the problems developing in his society in his time and the influence of ᶜAbduh and other contemporary reformists is frequently apparent. The declining moral values of his society concerned him particularly and he condemns,

by the development of his tragic plots and by direct comment as well, dancing, drinking intoxicants and the degenerate sexual standards he observed; all stemmed, he made plain, from the undue influence permitted to enter Egypt from the West. He also constantly underlines the disparate material standards apparent in his society and much of his work demonstrated and deprecated the misery of the lower classes and called for charity and compassion for them. As he makes plain in his introduction to the al-Naẓarāt,(60) al Manfalūṭī wrote to benefit people, not to amuse them and his message was one of warning of misery and despair if people did not maintain moral values and act humanely to one another; his original stories seem inevitably to end with tragic death on the last page!

His style, while not as balanced and verse-like as that of al-Muwailiḥī or Muḥammad Hāfiẓ Ibrāhīm, indicates a sensitivity to the musical qualities of words and he clearly wrote with great care, occasionally employing vocabulary rarities to demonstrate his command of Arabic; his first book publication of al-Naẓarāt, which came out during his lifetime, has occasional footnotes explaining the meanings of words in the text. His rhythmical, evocative, emotional and sometimes repetitive prose is, like so much early modern Arabic writing, best appreciated aloud and he seems to have been influenced by the success of the techniques of his contemporary nationalist orators like Muṣṭafā Kāmil.

A sentimentalist, a romantic and of very limited educational and cultural knowledge and experience, his work seems scarcely to belong to the turbulent atmosphere of material, political and social progress of Egypt in the first decades of this century. However, his work was highly popular during his lifetime and for some years

after his death and he has undoubtedly had great influence on the work of other major Arabic writers prominent in later years. In his stories, so frequently centering on orphaned children and abandoned wives or lovers, he demonstrates a preoccupation with death, despair and depravation that reflects interests dominant in many modern Arabic writers - sad , romantic and tragic themes. (61)

Openly moralistic, contemplative and above all nostalgic, carefully composed by a trained scholar of natural eloquence, his work had great appeal and influence to readers of his own generation. To the more sophisticated audience of later years, however, the sentimentality of his stories is too cloying and he is seen to have possessed no sensitivity for dramatic timing nor any particular gift for description of character, place or incident. (62) Some critics have, moreover, questioned the sincerity of his sympathy for the underprivileged, seeing his work as merely reflective of the romanticism of the 19th century French literature. Perhaps his greatest contribution was to have demonstrated both in his original work and in his translations, that romantic literature was a valid and respectable field for Arabic literary activity, even for a pious, traditionalist scholar from a village milieu and al-Azhar like himself.

Muḥammad Ḥāfiẓ Ibrāhīm (1872-1932)

Muḥammad Ḥāfiẓ Ibrāhīm too has a place in discussion of the development of fiction in Egypt. One of the greatest figures in Arabic poetry, known by the proud honorific of "shāᶜir al-Nīl", "Poet of the Nile", he nevertheless made one distinctive if limited contribution to the prose writing of his time.

Born in the town of Dairūt in Upper Egypt, his father was an irrigation engineer whose early death forced his Turkish-Egyptian widow and young son to take up residence in Cairo with her brother, a civil servant. The boy's school education continued there until his late teens, when his uncle was transferred to the Nile delta town of Tanta. The intervening period spent in Cairo was one of high drama and he is likely to have been aware during his most impressionable years of the ʿUrābī revolt, the eventual British conquest of Egypt as well as all the tension relating to the threat being made on Egypt by the Mahdi in the Sudan. Awareness of these events and circumstances no doubt accounts for the extreme anti-British feeling that is so evident in his literary production. The nationalist press and satirical political journals of the time and particularly the genius of ʿAbdallah al-Nadīm were also presumably strongly felt by Ibrāhīm, who, we are told, was an avid reader from an early age.

His uncle's transfer to Tanta in 1887 resulted in his attending the town's Religious Institute for a time and there he apparently made a reputation for his sadly reflective and introvertive poetry. After a period spent in the town acting as a clerk in a series of law offices, he decided on a career with the Egyptian army, at that time expanding in preparation for campaigns against the successors of the Mahdi. He was accepted at the newly reorganized Military College and was commissioned from there early in 1891, spending the following several years in the Cairo Ministry of Defense headquarters and with the police administrations of provincial towns. In 1895, following a reduction in the army budget, he,

along with many other officers, was placed on the reserve at reduced salary. Recalled to take part in the campaign under General Kitchener the following year, he accompanied the expedition to the South but remained garrisoned at the Red Sea port of Suakīn for two years, apparently seeing none of the major fighting. After the completion of the campaign he returned to Cairo and was placed once more on the retired list, in May 1900; it is unclear whether or not he was associated with the abortive Egyptian army revolt in the Sudan the previous year and he was not formally charged along with those officers who were implicated. (63)

Once more in Cairo, Ḥāfiẓ Ibrāhīm joined the circle around Muḥammad ᶜAbduh, to whom he had sent letters from the Sudan strongly critical of the domineering character of Lord Kitchener and the British leadership over the joint British-Egyptian army. He became well acquainted with the leaders of political journalism of the time, contributed nationalistic, oratorical poems to their periodicals and his reputation spread rapidly. In 1903 he published a partial translation of Victor Hugo's Les Misérables and this was followed, one year after the death of his chief patron ᶜAbduh in 1905, by his Layālī Sāṭiḥ (Nights of Satih). Of his other prose contributions, one was of lasting importance; a two volume essay on education and morality, his al-Tarbīya wa al-Akhlāq (Education and Ethics) continues to be a popular school guide. His five-volume study, jointly authored with another poet, Khalīl Maṭrān, and published in 1913, on economic theories had, in contrast, little lasting impact. From 1911 Ḥāfiẓ Ibrāhīm remained employed in the Khedivial library reaching the level of assistant director before his death in 1931.

His Layālī Sāṭiḥ (Nights of Satiḥ) is directly in the line of succession from ᶜAlī Mubārak's ᶜAlam al-Dīn and al-Muwailiḥī's ᶜIsā ibn Hishām, employing a veneer of quasi-fiction in the Maqāma form to express the author's ideas and particularly his criticisms of his own society. The mood is set immediately when the narrator is pictured wandering in the desert near Giza's pyramids reflecting on the state of Egypt's society and mentally expressing his utter disgust at its moral degradation. He hears a voice praying and talking of the wisdom of a mysterious Sāṭiḥ, whom he is advised to contact. This meeting leads the narrator to introduce to the seer on successive evenings a variety of men unhappy with their lot in Egypt and to them advice is given in poetry and rhymed prose. The first "nights" keep closely to this format and are short episodes but soon the author moves away into lengthy conversations between the narrator and acquaintances he meets. Ibrāhīm makes no attempt in the work at an overall artistic cohesiveness and, indeed, the final part, one third of the whole, has a separate title and consists of an essay addressed to the reader baldly critical of the form of government and society developed in Egypt under Cromer and still continuing after his recent retirement. The whole is marked by archaic vocabulary and stilted syntax and repetitious and obtrusive quotations from the pessimistic poetry of al-Maᶜarrī, to which the narrator all too frequently turns when unable to fall asleep at night. The popularity of the work, short, slight and scarcely original, after its first publication in 1906 seems to demonstrate, more than anything, the extreme comparative poverty of the field of Arabic prose fiction in Egypt at the time. Its appeal lay, of course, in the skill of the author's use of language in a medium

still popular though archaic, and in the directness of the nationalist and anti-British ideas expressed, rather than in either its treatment of the still undeveloped genre of fiction or the impressiveness of its artistry as a Maqāma.

Muḥammad Ḥusain Haikal (1888-1956)

Muḥammad Ḥusain Haikal's novel Zainab (Zainab), although scarcely noticed at the time of its first anonymous publication in 1914 and only becoming popular on its second printing in 1929 almost two decades later, is clearly a point of beginning and departure in Egyptian prose fiction. For all its artistic faults of arrangement, the excessive intrusion of the author's direct comments, absence of logical plot progression or sustained interest focus normally associated with the genre, it is clearly intended as, and indeed represents, an attempt at a novel, within the widely accepted definitions of the term. For it and his other contributions chiefly to journalism, political and social theory and biography, Haikal must be accorded a position of some importance in the modern literary history of Arabic.

He was born in 1888 in Kafr Ghanām, a small village near al-Sinbalawain in Daqhalīya Province of the Delta, of a long established landowning family. At five he attended the village school where he learned to read and write and recite a large part of the Koran. At seven he went to school in Cairo at the Jamālīya Primary and afterwards to the Khedivial Secondary. On completing his schooling he enrolled in the Law College, from which he graduated in 1909.

He seems to have acquired an early interest in the cultural heritage of the Arabic language. Encouraged by his maternal

uncle Aḥmad Luṭfī al-Sayyid, the editor of the highly influential al-Jarīda, (The Journal) the organ of the al-'Umma party, he began while still a young man contributing articles encouraging Egyptian national pride and a cultural renaissance, while stressing the need to draw on the resources of the West.

Having graduated from the law school he decided to complete his studies in Paris. There he enrolled at the Sorbonne and was graduated with a Doctorate in law and Politics-Economics in 1912. While in Europe, partly in Paris, partly in London and then Geneva in 1911, he wrote his novel Zainab which he later published under a pseudonym in Cairo in 1914.

On returning to Egypt in mid-1912 he took up a law practice in the Delta town of Mansūra and from 1917 he began giving lectures at Cairo university. Soon after, however, he was to give up his law practice for work in politics and journalism. The political party the 'Free Constitutionalists' of which he was an early member, began in 1922 to publish a daily newspaper al-Siyāsa and he was made its editor. He was joined on its editorial board by a colleague also recently returned from Paris, the distinguished blind literary critic and educationalist, Tāhā Ḥusain. Haikal took charge of the political and Ḥusain the literary activities of the newspaper. In 1921 Haikal published in the newspaper a series of studies of Jean-Jacques Rousseau which he brought out as a book two years later. He also wrote on literary topics and collected and published these in 1925 under the title Awqāt al-Firāgh (Leisure Times). The work, which was of considerable literary success, was divided into three parts. The first included translations from Anatole France and Pierre Loti and discussions of Qāsim Amīn and

the influences that had led him to such dedicated support for the emancipation of women and reforms within society in Egypt. The second part of the book drew attention to the discovery of the tomb of Tutankhamen and stressed the wonders of ancient Egypt as sources of pride for modern Egyptians. The third collection gathered articles on themes examining the need for the development of a new literature in Arabic which would draw its inspiration from the realities of contemporary Egyptian life and all the truly distinctive national characteristics of the country.

In 1927 he published impressions of a visit to the Sudan, at that time a bone of contention between Britain and Egyptian nationalist demands. From 1926 he had been publishing a supplement each week to the daily al-Sīyāsa entitled al-Sīyāsa al-'Usbūᶜīya devoted to discussion of strictly literary topics. In time this supplement, to which many leading writers contributed, became a veritable 'school of letters' in which budding writers were encouraged to cooperate. In 1929 a series of his articles were published as a book under the title Shakhṣīyāt miṣrīya wa gharbīya (Great men, Egyptian and of the West.) It begins with a study of Cleopatra, followed by essays on a group of Egyptian politicians and reformers like Muṣṭafā Kāmil, ᶜAbd al-Khāliq Tharwat and Buṭrus Ghālī. Studies follow on Beethoven, Thaine and Shakespeare and the work concludes with a sixty page, one third of the whole, essay on Shelley.

In 1930, when the Egyptian government under Ismāᶜīl Ṣidqī instituted a censorship which eliminated the publication of al-Sīyāsa, Haikal busied himself in cooperating with al-Māzinī and Muḥammad ᶜAbd Allāh ᶜInān in the compilation of a book examining political and constitutional developments in modern Egypt. At this period

he also published a book of philosophical reminiscences Waladī (My Son) honoring his son who had died in 1925. In it he also describes a trip he made in 1926-8 with his wife to Europe and particularly Switzerland and Paris and concerned himself with the developments he saw had taken place since his studies there.

His next published work came in 1933. Entitled Thawrat al-Adab (Revolution in Literature) it discussed the changes that had taken place in literature in Egypt since ᶜUrābī's revolt. Haikal stressed the development of Arabic prose in the period and contrasted this with the static position of poetry. In particular he insisted on the absolute necessity for Egyptian writers to maintain and develop further their orientation towards the West. He advocated the construction of a distinctively Egyptian literature by drawing from Pharoahonic legends for inspiration.

During this period in his life a major change occurred in Haikal's philosophical orientation. He began, in Luxor in the Winter of 1932, readings on the origins and early history of Islam and these soon led to the publication of his study of the life of Muhammad, Ḥayāt Muḥammad (Muhammad's Life), which appeared in 1935. The work was very well received and followed over the next few years by studies on the early Caliphs' Abū Bekr (1943) and ᶜUmar (1946). Throughout this period and for the rest of his life Haikal, like so many of his contemporaries, adopted the position that modern Egyptian intellectuals should draw inspiration more from Islam and the culture of Arabic language and less from Ancient Egypt and the modern West.

At this time Haikal began moving into ministerial and governmental activities and was made Minister of State in 1937

and Minister of Education soon thereafter, which position he occupied frequently until 1945 when he became Speaker of the Senate. He retained this function until his retirement in 1950. In 1952 he published his two-volumes of memoirs of his life in politics. This is a major source work for the period from the 1919 Revolution up to immediately preceding the Revolution of 1952.

In 1955 Haikal published his last work, finishing his literary career as it had begun, with a novel. His Hākadhā Khuliqtu (Thus was I Created) written in the first person and supposedly consigned to Haikal by the anonymous authoress, is the memoirs of an upper-class Cairo socialite consumed by various jealousies and with confused moral sense. The work is of interest in depicting the author's view of the state of Egyptian society at the time and the predominance of European values and customs.

Haikal died in 1956. His personal reputation for consistent honesty and incorruptibility have survived and he is one of the few politicians of the pre-Revolutionary period who is still highly regarded. He is chiefly remembered and commented upon today, however, for his literay work and particularly for his biographies of early Muslim leaders and for his Zainab, certainly one of the earliest Arabic novels, and highly illustrative of some of the tensions and contradictions inherent within the Egyptian educated élite of the first decade of this century.

Clearly autobiographical in many areas, the work has two principal centers of interest--Ḥāmid, the son of the owner of a large country estate and Zainab, one of the peasant girls who pick its cotton. The movement of the novel is uneven, revolving at times around these central characters and their relationship, while at

others the interest focus changes to description of village life and the beauties of nature. The intellectual torment of a young upper-class intellectual forced to drive himself towards achieving his personal goal and prerogative of leadership and at others yearning for a life of idyllic simplicity in the country, is a constant theme. Written in Europe while the young author was a home-sick law student, it is nostalgic and personal to a high degree. There are occasional passages of exaggerated praise for the Egyptian countryside that seem unique in Arabic literature and reflect no doubt the 19th century worship of nature in European romanticism in literature and art.

Love, or rather friendship, of a temporary, innocent and ambivalent nature between Ḥāmid and Zainab is an early theme and the novel progresses to trace Zainab's unhappy love for one peasant, forced marriage to another and early tragic death. Ḥāmid himself cannot reconcile his feelings towards Zainab and the other peasant girls and his cousin ᶜAzīza, whom his family expect him to marry but he could never accept as an intellectual equal worthy of his full love and admiration. Each of the women represents symbolically the attractions of Eastern versus Western values. Ḥāmid's ambivalence towards them no doubt reflects Haikal's own state of indecision and confusion at the time, both in his view of the marital relationship and that towards his country, faced with a difficult choice between the irreconcilable influences stemming from its own internal history and society and those coming from the materially progressive but seemingly morally decadent West.

One of the novel's chief areas of interest to the literary historian lies in its introduction of dialogue in the colloquial

language. Conversations between the peasants are given realistically, with the frequent use of both colloquial vocabulary and a syntax structure close to the nature of the spoken language. Such a daring stylistic innovation had never before been attempted in Arabic prose fiction, except in early humorous and satirical journalism, and only rarely even in published plays by this time. It is interesting to note, moreover, that Haikal himself refrained from writing colloquial in his only other full-length fiction work, his Hākadhā Khuliktu (Thus was I Created), written after his retirement; all dialogue within it is in conventional, formal, classical Arabic. It seems that Haikal, like so many other writers, seemed to feel it appropriate for the lower classes to speak in colloquial, while maintaining the fiction that the élite educated upper class, the center of interest of the second novel, express themselves only in an Arabic pure in both grammatical form and vocabulary.

The Taimūr Family

Haikal, despite his contribution of two full-length novels, wrote chiefly in other fields of prose and wrote no short stories. The credit for their inception and development as a major genre in modern Egyptian literature belongs to two brothers Muḥammad and Maḥmūd Taimūr, whose father and aunt had themselves most important roles in the progress of other fields of Arabic in the late nineteenth and early twentieth centuries. The range and extent of their influence as a family is probably without parallel in the modern Arab world.

Aḥmad Taimūr (1871-1930), a man of considerable inherited wealth, was born in Cairo to a family of Kurdish origin; his grandfather had been a high official of Muḥammad ʿAlī's military staff and his father, Sulaimān Taimūr, bore the high Ottoman title, as he did himself, of Pasha. Left an orphan at an early age, he was brought up by his older sister ʿĀ'isha al-Taimūrīya. He learned French, Turkish and a little Persian and excellent Arabic, chiefly through tutoring at home. A member of the Egyptian Senate since its establishment, he served on important national committees created to preserve the country's literary and cultural heritage as well as in major Arab academic associations.

He was an enthusiastic bibliophile.The collection of books and manuscripts he accumulated in his lifetime from all parts of the Arab world became, in 1932, two years after his death, a separate holding within the Egyptian National Library. Totalling over 17,000 volumes, they constitute an invaluable and irreplacable body of materials. Aḥmad Taimūr was also an impressive scholar in his own right and is credited with over a score of works. He wrote

extensively on early Islam, including a biography of the Prophet Muḥammad. His interest in literary biography is also reflected in his study on the poet al-Maᶜarrī and a volume of essays giving biographical introduction to writers of the 19th century Arabic renaissance. Lexicography was also a major interest and he wrote critiques and revisions of the two greatest lexicons of classical Arabic, the Lisān al-ᶜArab and the al-Qāmūs al-Muḥīṭ, as well as a collection of Arabic and Egyptian proverbs and maxims. His work in developing his book collection inspired, moreover, an interest in Arabic manuscript illustration, on which he also wrote a major study. Further works examine the place of music and singing and the importance of sport in Arab life; one of his earliest works came out, in 1907, on astronomy. During his lifetime he also made frequent contributions to the Cairo daily and periodical press and to the Journal of the Arab Academy of Sciences, published in Damascus. The majority of his studies have appeared only after his death, through the auspices of a committee of scholars established for this express purpose, and their work still continues.

Aḥmad's sister ᶜĀ'isha shared his literary interests and became probably the best known and admired poetess of her era, publishing widely in Egyptian journals and a collection of her poems has been recently published in book form. Aḥmad's sons could scarcely have been raised in an atmosphere more conducive to developing their own interests in literature; their father's home, and particularly his unrivalled library, became an influential center and meeting place for the country's intellectual and religious leaders of the time.

On the death of his wife, Aḥmad Taimūr moved from the family's home on Darb Sa^{c}ādā, in the ancient central quarter of Bāb al-Khalq, to the modern suburb of ^{c}Ayn Shams and later to the more central and fashionable district of Zamālek and it was in these two cosmopolitan areas that his sons spent their formative years. The summer would be spent in the family country estates, where they would be able to renew close contact with the more rigidly traditional Egyptian peasant classes. The children were encouraged by their father to develop interests in Arab history and culture and to explore on their own classical Arabic literature to supplement their formal studies at the local elementary and secondary schools. The brothers showed an early interest in writing and in reading translated plays and short stories. They were apparently strongly influenced as boys by the fiction and translations of al-Manfalūṭī and also by the émigré Arab writers being published in Egyptian periodicals such as Khalīl Jibrān.

In 1911 Muḥammad Taimūr (1892-1921), the elder brother by two years, left Egypt for studies in Paris. He remained there for three years, during which time he gained a close acquaintance with French literary production in fiction and drama. At this period Maḥmūd, who had remained in Cairo and enrolled at the agricultural college, fell ill with typhoid and was forced to give up his studies. Muḥammad, on his return, acquainted his brother with literary developments in France and together they studied works that had appeared in Arabic in fiction in recent years, such as a-Muwailiḥī's Ḥadīth ^{c}Īsā bin Hishām and Haikal's Zainab. Both brothers were strongly attracted to the work of deMaupassant and the new wave of realism favored in Europe and wrote stories themselves modelled on

his technique.

It was Muḥammad Taimūr who both showed earlier promise and began earlier publication of literary work. His very first short story Fī al-Qiṭār (In the Train), originally appearing in the Cairo daily al-Sufūr (The Unveiling) in 1917, demonstrated his gift for the genre, his wit and remarkable lightness of touch. The piece introduces, in brief description of their distinctive dress and personal idiosyncracies and through dialogue discussing a newspaper article on government plans to combat illiteracy, characters representative of the varied orientation of Egyptian attitudes at the time. Each is a clever caricature symbolizing differing degrees of willingness to accept Westernization and change. The insolubility of their problems and the impossibility of their finding a mutually acceptable course is neatly suggested by the narrator's brief concluding remark, as he leaves the station, that he can scarcely hear the departing train's piercing whistle because of the continuing reverberation in his head of their confused and irreconcilable argument! In six short pages, in both description and dialogue of remarkable precision and economy, the author has explored amusingly and with artistic completeness, an important area of conflict within his society.

Muḥammad Taimūr's life was tragically short. By the time of his premature death at the age of twenty-nine, in 1921, he had published only a few more stories and several brilliant humorous short plays that gave further ample evidence of his literary skills. Ths loss of his gifted brother, who had so quickly established a fine reputation as a writer of revolutionary genius, deeply saddened the younger Maḥmūd, who had never recovered his health sufficiently

after an early illness to be able to resume a working career he had begun as a civil servant. He determined to devote himself instead to continuing the literary activity that his brother had started and he began producing short stories in considerable numbers. A collection of these was published in book form in 1925 under the title al-Shaikh Jum^{c}a wa Qiṣaṣ 'Ukhrā (Sheikh Gum^{c}a and Other Stories and this was soon followed by a second collection to which he added an introduction tracing the history of Arabic fiction and in which he expressed his own conviction of the need to continue work in the genre.

Since that time Mahmūd Taimūr has continued to publish a constant flow of short stories, novels and plays and has achieved an eminence in modern Arabic literature shared by very few others. He was elected in 1950 to membership in the prestigious Cairo-based Academy of the Arabic Language, and he has won a number of high Egyptian state literary honors. Several of his works, have, moreover, been translated into foreign languages, particularly French. Among those available in English are a collection of his short stories under the title Tales from Egyptian Life, published in Cairo in 1947, and individual stories have also appeared in journals and anthologies.

Although of decidedly aristocratic background and with a broad acquaintance with the outside world and France in particular, he chiefly interested himself, especially in early publications, in depicting the life of the urban poor and peasant classed in modern Egypt. His treatment of their lot was, however, far more romantic and neutral than that of the reformist-polemicist realist writers who have since emerged into prominence. An early exponent and experimentalist

like his brother Muḥammad, with the use of colloquial in Arabic literature, he has published one work, his play al-Makhba' Raqm 13 (Shelter No. 13) in both forms, bound and published together so that the virtues of each medium might be more easily compared. He has, however, become more strongly classical in his language and style as time has passed and his focus of interest has somewhat moved from the quaintness of the lower classes to that of his own class. In a recently published interview, (64) Taimūr was asked to account for the change in his style from an adventurous use of colloquial in his early work to the use of severe and frequently obscurantist classical in his later publications. He responded by emphasizing the two direct and conflicting influences on his production represented by his adventurous, revolutionary brother and his scholastic, classicist father and concluded that his own most natural tendency, present throughout but becoming increasingly dominant, was to follow the example of the latter.

The fiction of Maḥmūd Taimūr is most impressive and distinctive for his ability at analyzing and depicting the physical and personal characteristics of the people in his stories His short stories are more successful than his novels where his lack of skill in dramatic effect and plot presentation become all the moreevident. His novel Klīūbātra fī Khān al-Khalīlī (Cleopatra in Khan al-Khalili) revolving around an imaginary peace conference held in Cairo, is at times faintly amusing but too static and predictable to be engrossing. Similarly, neither plot nor characters of another novel Salwā fi Mahabb al-Rīḥ (Salwa in a Storm) succeed in capturing the imagination or interest of a mature reader. His novella Nidā al-Majhūl (Call of the Unknown), available in an English translation, is perhaps his

best attempt at fiction of sustained length. Its plot-progression is engrossing and an atmosphere of danger and mystery is well maintained. The underlying theme, the relative values of Eastern religious and spiritual and Western materialist attitudes and philosophies, is explored convincingly. It too, however, has evident artistic faults; the ending is lame and disappointing and the personalities are scarcely more than caricatures.

Although Maḥmūd Taimūr, for the sheer magnitude and range of his literary production, must be considered one of the giants of modern Arabic literature, the importance of his contribution was clearly greater in the 20's and 30's than since the emergence of later generations of exponents of fiction in Arabic. Much of his work seems, in retrospect, more superficial than realist and gives little sense of the turbulence of his times in so many areas of life. Taimūr does indeed seem merely, as it has been observed: "an onlooker amused at the behavior of his characters just as an onlooker is amused at the acting of marionettes". (65) His work was accepted eagerly as suitable educational material for Arabic language training from an early date and the school systems throughout the Arab world have ever since provided the major outlet and audience for his publications which have consequently run into many editions. This fact may well have been both influential and detrimental to the content and style of his works, at least from the viewpoint of the interests and concerns of adult readers and his likely future position in Arabic literature.

Tawfīq al-Ḥakīm (1898-)

Contemporary with Taimūr in birth and of comparable longevity and, indeed, stature, Tawfīq al-Ḥakīm is without doubt a dominant figure in modern Arabic literature. Although best known and most active in the field of drama, he too made important contributions to prose fiction in its most formative period. Several of his early novels were unrivalled as the best to appear in Arabic until the emergence of the work of the current younger generation of writers in the late forties and thereafter.

al-Ḥakīm was born in 1898 in Alexandria. His parentage was of mixed ancestry, his father Egyptian and his mother the daughter of a retired Turkish officer. His father, Ismāʿīl al-Ḥakīm Bey, was a member of the Egyptian landed aristocracy, reputed to own severalhundred acres of good farm land near Damanhūr, in the Delta region of al-Buḥaira. Tawfīq al-Ḥakīm began formal schooling at the age of seven in the local primary school but as the town had no further public education facilities at that time he later had to leave home to attend secondary school in Cairo. There he lived for three years under the care of an aunt and two uncles who shared, with their families, a small house in the Sayyida Zainab quarter. Tawfīq's father made contributins to the family budget to cover his son's expenses in the household whose head was a primary school mathematics teacher.

The young al-Ḥakīm was in Cairo at the time of the outbreak of the 1919 rebellion protesting the refusal of the British government to negotiate Egyptian independence with Saʿad Zaghlūl and his nationalist followers. Tawfīq and his uncles are said to have been

amongst the demonstrators and saboteurs who were arrested for participation in them and they spent short periods confined in both the Cairo citadel and the Military Hospital before their release. After an interval spent in the family estate, the schools having been closed and examinations postponed, he returned to Cairo and graduated the following year, 1920, and, following further study, passed his bacchalaureat examination in 1921. With this he was able to gain entry to the Law college and, after four years, he graduated with a degree in law in 1925. During this period al-Ḥakīm became involved with theatrical productions which had become increasingly popular as a force for the expression of nationalist sentiment, particularly after the War. al-Ḥakīm himself both wrote and helped in the production of several short plays put on by the ᶜUkāsha Company on the stage at the 'Azbakīya Gardens; several of these plays, dealing with the position of women in society and social change, were first published by the author in 1952. (67)

Upon graduation from law school in Cairo, al-Ḥakīm travelled to Paris for the purpose of obtaining there a doctorate in law. Although he remained in Europe for three years, he seems to have spent the majority ofhis time and effort in studying and enjoying Paris' theatrical entertainments; he returned to Cairo in 1927 without a higher degree. Appointed an assistant prosecutor for the Alexandria Mixed Courts, he spent the following two years most involved with the legal problems of the city's foreign residents. In 1929 he transferred into the Native Courts system and spent much of the next four years as an assistant prosecutor in several Delta towns. This was followed by periods in the administration of the government's ministeries of Education and Social Affairs, until, in 1943, he

resigned to work for the daily newspaper Akhbār al-Yawm (News of the Day), in which he published a number of his plays. In 1951 he once more took a position in the governmental bureaucracy, becoming Director of the National Library. al-Ḥakīm has been a permanent member of Egypt's top executive committee governing patronage to the Arts since its foundation in 1956 and he also spent a brief period as his country's representative at the U.N.E.S.C.O in Paris from 1959-60.

Throughout his career in the law and government administration, al-Ḥakīm has been extraordinarily productive in a number of literary fields. He is credited with some three score separate titles and their ready availability indicates the continuing popularity of his work. Although best known today for his plays, he wrote important early autobiographical novels and novellas, a number of short stories and he has also published substantial contributions in literary criticism. (68)

Perhaps more clearly than any other modern Arab author, al-Ḥakīm's choice of a particular literary medium relates specifically to the objective and purpose to which he devotes hiswork. He has used the novel form to record and express autobiographical reminiscence and personal views of the actualities of Egyptian life, whereas in his plays he typically explores historic and philosophic themes of universal applicability and expresses his ideas symbolically. His early novel ʿAwdat al-Rūḥ (Return of the Spirit), begun in Paris in the late twenties and completed while al-Ḥakīm was an assistant prosecutor in the Delta and published in 1933, is both his longest and most personal work. It examines in detail the author's family background and upbringing and the strains he felt in being the child

of a parentage mixed in class and racial origin as well as social orientation. He describes his early schooling in the Delta town, playing happily with children of the lowest social strata but all the time knowing, as they did too, that he was not of their class. The novel gives a splendid picture of the impression made upon the boy by his move in his early teens to the crowded home of his Cairo relatives and describes convincingly the central character's unhappy love affair with a slightly older girl in the house next door. Underlying the personal and family reminiscence, the author creates a moving impression of the nature and strength of Egyptian national feeling during the 1919 revolution, the set for much of the novel's action. The work is stylistically in strong contrast with much of al-Ḥakīm's later work, in which a correct formal high Arabic dominates. In ʿAwdat al-Rūḥ the dialogue and even some of the descriptive passages gain color and immediacy by the use of colloquial.

al-Ḥakīm's autobiographical reminiscences are similarly but perhaps less successfully explored in another early novel ʿUṣfūr min al-Sharq (Bird from the East), but in this case the scene is Paris and the central figure is in his early manhood. First published in 1938, presumably some years after its original composition, the novel describes and analyzes the impressions thecity makes on a young Egyptian student and provides a vehicle in which the author can discuss the conflicting social forces at work in Europe at the time. Apart from the Egyptian, the other central figures are a Russian émigré and a Parisian girl. With the former lengthy discussions involving economic and social-political theory are introduced and Western materialism and the industrial method of production are contrasted unfavorably with the philosophical-ethical values and belief

in craftsmanship expressed by the Egyptian hero. With the girl, of course, discussion revolves around his and her differing views of the love and sex relationship. Although examining serious issues still unresolved when first published in the thirties and therefore impressive for that period, today the work seems rather melodramatic and heavy. It lacks a cohesive plot interest and progression and the conversations seem too long and deliberate; above all the reader misses the lightness of touch and humor of some of al-Ḥakīm's other work.

As a delightful and refreshing contrast comeshis brilliant novella Yawmīyāt Nā'ib fi al-'Aryāf (Diary of a Country Lawyer). Available in an English translation under the title The Maze of Justice this work is also clearly autobiographical but at the same time expresses less deeply or at least less mournfully, the author's personal feelings and opinions. Written in 1933 when the author was in Ṭanṭa and first published in 1937 it is a light and bright satire of the inapplicability of European legal theory and criminal law to the realities of Egyptian peasant life. In its delightful characterizations, passages of amusing dialogue and funny incidents, it is clearly one of the most successful works of humor to appear in modern Arabic and perhaps, indeed, the best novel to be published in that language until decades later.

al-Ḥakīm, a student of European literary theory, seems clearly to have been torn between the conflicting concepts of literature as necessarily relating to personal experience of one's social philosophy and, on the other hand, that insisting on the validity of "Art for Art's Sake" alone. Apparently as early as 1928 (70) he wrote his

play Ahl al-Kahf (People of the Cave), which was published to great critical acclaim in 1933. The plot draws on the ancient legend of the 'Seven Sleepers', to which reference is made in the chapter in the Koran known as the al-Kahf (The Cave), popularly recited at Friday Muslim mosque meetings. al-Ḥakīm shows in a published letter (71) that his motivation in writing the play was consciously artistic and philosophical and that, although since popular on the stage, it was never intended for theater performance. His long play Muḥammad, never performed since its first publication in 1936, consists of over eighty scenes grouped in three acts and with a conclusion; the dialogue, almost entirely divorced from purposeful plot progression introduces figures of importance in the early history of Islam who discuss the policies and personality of the Prophet. al-Ḥakīm has also been keenly interested in both the themes and treatment of Greek drama, seeing apparently in them vehicles for the expression of eternal truths through a symbolism all the more dramatic in its possible potential impact on Egyptian social conduct for its divorce from an identifiable local milieu. Examples of such works are his al-Malik Ūdīb (Oedipus the King) and Pijmālyūn (Pygmalion). One of his short plays in this genre, the Nahr al-Junūn (The River of Madness) is available in English translation.(72) A slight piece, only faintly amusing in its satire, the play expresses the author's protest against societal pressures seeking to enforce the conformity of theindividual to what might even be immoral as well as stupid, symbolized in this case by the drinking from a river whose waters are known to cause euphoria. In this, as in the other 'symbolic' plays, al-Ḥakīm employs a formal and correct classical Arabic, strictly adhered to when the plays are performed live, that

further helps to maintain the separation the author desires from the contemporary milieu of the audience.

The literary production of Tawfīq al-Ḥakīm has been extraordinarily extensive and varied and he still demonstrates a willingness to experiment. He even wrote in the early-sixties a full-length play in the absurdist genre and the work has been translated into English.(73) As reserved and retiring in his private life as he has been conspicuous in literary production, al-Ḥakīm has for decades been the greatest 'personality' in modern Arabic letters. A bachelor, somewhat eccentric in his dress (he is said to always wear a beret in public, most rare in Egypt, and carry a cane), with a reputation for misogeny and miserliness and of mixed Turkish-Egyptian parentage, his work has been criticized by some as too far removed from and therefore irrelevent to the realities of Egyptian life. The judgement seems only partially valid when one considers thewhole range of his output. His early work contained much social criticism and several of his satires reveal and therefore argue quietly against defects in Egyptian institutions. One work, moreover, the Shajarat al-Ḥukm (The Tree of Wisdom), a series of dialogues between political leaders who have mysteriously infiltrated heaven and others between those still on earth, serialized in the Egyptian press in the late 30's, is perhaps the most trenchant satire of Egyptian parliamentary government ever to appear.

Post-War Arabic Fiction

Although Taimūr, al-Ḥakīm and others who began publishing fiction in the twenties and thirties have continued their production into later decades, the popularity and influence of their works have been challenged and surpassed by new groups of authors in each of the Arab literary capitals. A remarkable expansion has occurred in the popularity of prose fiction in Arabic in recent years and the genre has developed into new levels of sophistication and excellence.

Iḥsān ᶜAbd al-Quddūs

In 1954 the American University at Cairo conducted a public opinion poll to discover who was the most popular living writer in the Arabic language. The results showed a preference for Iḥsān ᶜAbd al-Quddūs. Since that time there has been ever increasing interest in fictional literature in the Arab world with the publication of innumerable short stories and novels in Arabic by many authors. Some of these have gained great acclaim but it is probable that if a similar popularity poll were held today, the results might still show a numerical favor for the works of Iḥsan ᶜAbd al-Quddūs. The author of weekly political editorials for twenty years, as well as a score of volumesof short stories and novels, the majority having had several printings and been adapted for stage, screen and radio, his work has influenced the development of both Egyptian politics and Arabic fictional literature.

A knowledge of the extraordinary backgrounds of his parents is of primary importance for an understanding of the work of Iḥsān ᶜAbd al-Quddūs who was born on January 1, 1919. His father, from

a middle-class Cairo Muslim family, qualified as an engineer but became an actor for the stage and later the cinema. Rose (or Fāṭima) al-Yūsuf, his mother, was born in Tripoli in Lebanon of Muslim parents and was apparently adopted after their death by a Christian family who, on their way to America, took her to Alexandria. Left there with the family of a theater owner, she began training for the stage. In 1925, after a highly successful career in the theatre, she retired and founded what became Egypt's best-known political and cultural weekly magazine to which she gave her own name, Rose al-Youssuf. His parents separated while he was still young and Iḥsān and his sister were brought up in the Cairo suburb of ᶜAbbāsīya by his paternal grandfather, a graduate of al-Azhar.

Encouraged by his parents, Iḥsān ᶜAbd al-Quddūs began writing poetry, rhymes and stories at a very early age and in his teens some of these were published in his mother's magazine under the nom-de-plume 'Sūna'. He enrolled at Cairo University and was graduated with a law degree in 1942. After six months experience in legal work he joined the full-time staff of '<u>Rose al-Youssuf</u>', working his way through each department and writing on political subjects. Deeply concerned with social and political problems in Egypt, he had periods of involvement with both the Muslim Brethren and the Communists. When the wartime censorship laws were lifted he began a campaign of editorial attacks against the British position in Egypt. On August 7, 1945 he published an article in 'Rose al-Youssuf' entitled: "<u>The Man Who Must Go!</u>" , attacking Sir Miles Lampson, the feared and hated British ambassador, a dominant figure in Egypt at the time. The edition of the magazine was banned and Iḥsān ᶜAbd al-Quddūs was imprisoned. On his release after fourteen days and now something of a

popular hero, he was appointed by his mother to be Chief Editor and he continued its policy of attacking the British and the Egyptian politicians who supported them. In the same year, 1945, Iḥsān was married.

Having remodelled and enlarged the magazine and encouraged promising young writers to join the staff, the new Chief Editor gave increasing prominence to the need for inter-Arab unity in the face of growing Zionist Power in Palestine. During and after the Arab-Israeli war of 1948 the magazine adopted a radical anti-Zionist and anti-British position and strongly criticized the Arab governments for accepting the cease-fire agreements which enabled the state of Israel to consolidate its position.

Throughout this period Iḥsān ᶜAbd al-Quddūs attacked the ineffectiveness of the Arab League as an instument for uniting Arab policy and began advocating a centralized Arab body with executive powers. This type of thinking, then so rare among Egyptian political theorists, represented the reaction to the fierce mood of shame and resentment sweeping the Arab world as a result of the Arab defeat in Palestine. In 1950 when the wartime censorship was again lifted by the Wafd government, Iḥsān ᶜAbd al-Quddūs began insisting that faulty arms and ammunition had been a major factor in the Arab defeat. Stress on this "arms scandal", continued attacks against Egyptian international policies, King Farouk and the whole system of government in the country led to his brief imprisonment and the imposition of fines in July and August 1950 and May 1951.

After the Revolution of 1952, Iḥsān ᶜAbd al-Quddūs continued until 1964 as Chief Editor of Rose al-Youssuf, withdrawing in protest at the government's appointment of a 'censor' to have final authority

over the magazine's editorial policies. Some months later he was appointed chief editor of the popular Cairo daily Akhbār al-Yawm, an appointment he still holds.

Amidst all his political and journalistic activities Iḥsān ᶜAbd al-Quddūs has continued to dedicate himself to artistic literary production and it is for his work as a fiction writer that he is best known today.

His first books, published in the late forties, were collections of short anecdotes and personal impressions gathered mainly in Europe. Light and readable, they were an immediate success, especially with young people. In 1952 he published a collection of two novellas and one short story his: al-Naẓẓārat al-Sawdā' (The Dark Glasses) which amazed, delighted and shocked the Egyptian public by his daring exploration of sexual themes. The work marks the beginning of a five year period when the author was preoccupied with the problems of women in Egyptian society. Although these works, introducing sex as a dominant theme more openly than ever before in Arabic in modern times, ensured him a great and enthusiastic readership, they have tended to alienate him from both Arab literary critics and conservative opponents of liberal Western-style developments in Muslim society.

His next major fiction work, Anā Ḥurra (I am Free), published for the first time in book form in 1954, was particularly controversial. The story centers around a middle-class Egyptian Muslim girl who, like Iḥsān himself raised by relatives and insufficiently loved by divorced parents, determines to make her own way in life irrespective of societal pressures. It documents the girl's rebellious childhood,

refusal to marry 'suitable young men' she did not love and enrollment at Cairo's American University. With degree and secure employment assured she finds, however, that she still feels unfulfilled; but by the novel's end she is living,unmarried but happy, with a dedicated radical journalist. The novel draws out the principle that freedom for its own sake is of no value but must be used to make a choice of how and to what or whom one should devote one's energy and affection. In two other short novels he published in the fifties ᶜAbd al-Quddūs continued to explore the special problems women face in Arab society. His 'Aina ᶜUmrī (Where is My Life) 1954, examines the tragedy of a girl encouraged to accept a marriage arranged with a man many years older than herself. In his al-Ṭarīq al-Masdūd, (The Blocked Path), published in 1955, he traces several years in the life of an Egyptian Muslim girl of upper-middle class after the death of her father. Her mother and sister begin social activities of doubtful morality while she is shocked by the seduction attempts of a famous author with whom she becomes acquainted. Her college life is spoilt by the advances of a married teacher and the shock of beginning a career herself as a country school teacher is intensified by the attempts of a love-sick school boy, a lesbian colleague, the drug-addicted village storekeeper, the mayor and even her school principle to corrupt her! Her innocent love affair with a local business man is thwarted by his cowardice and eventually, totally demoralized, the heroine leaves for Cairo convinced that she too must compromise with her ideals if she is to have any success at all in her life. Her confusion at the books end demonstrates that, as the author set out in his preface: "Sin is not born with us; it is society which drives us to sin."

and identification with his country as a result of his participation in the ensuing military engagements.

In the late fifties and early sixties, ᶜAbd al-Quddūs seems to have achieved considerable development in his skill in the short story genre and the period saw publication in book form of several volumes of stories collected from earlier magazine appearances. Their focus covers an extraordinarily broad range of Egyptian life, centering on aspects of personal conduct and relationships within society, the supernatural and moral and religious values, changes on individuals and institutions brought by industrialization and socialism and a host of others. The stories are generally neatly constructed and some, especially in the collection ᶜAqlī wa Qalbī (My Heart and Mind) (1963) are brilliant, almost poetic impressionistic word-pictures of surprising impact for their extreme conciseness.

Also in 1963 came publication of ᶜAbd al-Quddūs' perhaps most controversial and courageous work. His Iā Shay'a Yahummu (Nothing Matters) centers around the emotions and attitudes of three central male characters, an actor, Muḥammad and two architectural engineers, Tawfīq and Ḥilmī; the names themselves are clearly significant. The first, perhaps reflecting the author's feeling about his own father, also an actor and named Muḥammad, is shown to be an artistic introvert, incapable of responsible conduct towards others, even to his own wife. Tawfīq, (in Arabic the word is a noun, meaning 'success'), is a representation of a success-figure, ambitious and efficient but ammoral and unscrupulous, a person certain to succeed in any career activity or under any regime. Ḥilmī, in contrast, (the name in Arabic is adjectival of the noun 'dream'), is dedicated to all the patriotic ideals of Revolutionary, Socialist

ᶜAbd al-Quddūs' next novel, his Iā Anāmu (I Do Not Sleep), published as a book in 1957, continued the author's examination of the nature of sin. The work is in the form of a letter, written to the author by a girl in her twenties, in which she confesses to a series of cruel and immoral acts designed to destroy her divorced father's second marriage. The resulting tragedies---for herself as well as for her father and his bride--stem, the book demonstrates, from the girl's self-acknowledged inherently sinful jealousies. One of the author's least successful or popular works, both plot and character presentation seem remarkably reminiscent of Françoise Sagan's earlier novel Un Certain Sourire, a fact observed and condemned by some Arab critics.

Also in 1957 came book publication of a political novel, marking a change from ᶜAbd al-Quddūs' almost exclusive prior preoccupation with the position of women in Egyptian society. His Ia Tutfi' al-Shams (Do Not Turn Out the Sun) is, with almost 1500 pages, both his longest and perhaps most influential work. It traces the lives of the widow and near-adult children of a wealthy Cairo Muslim family during a period of months before and after the nationalization of the Suez Canal. In successive chapters the author shows the efforts of each of the family to orient themselves towards integration into the newly-developing egalitarian society of Revolutionary Egypt. The earlier part of the novel shows how family influence could still be manipulated within the Cairo bureaucracy with the result of a continued dominance for the country's "Upper Classes". With the occurrence of the "Suez Crisis", however, following the nationalization of the canal, a new cohesiveness is created in Egyptian society. The central character, Ahmad, a law graduate and "drop out" from the civil service, can only now achieve a sense of involvement

Egypt. The plot demonstrates the progress of their personal relationships centering particularly on the dilemma of Ḥilmi. Aware of his construction company's subversion by a self-serving band of tricksters who have infiltrated into the key positions under the guise of membership in the ubiquitous and dreaded "mukhābarat" (the internal Egyptian Secret Service), Ḥilmī jeopardises his own career by insisting on fulfilling his convictions. The responsibility of the individual in resisting corruption is, then, the novel's main moralistic theme.

Secondary themes examine the love and marriage relationship and that of the individual towards religious dogmas--passages refer critically to the activities of the Muslim Brethren within Egyptian political life. There is much satire too, with lengthy conversations and discussion of freedom of speech, the powers and influence of the late President Nasser, mentioned by name in the text, and demonstrations of the widespread misuse of political jargon and sloganeering. In all the work is a remarkably frank discussion and demonstration of the concerns of Egyptian intellectuals throughout the period of the Revolution under Nasser.

Apart from a period of self-imposed retirement, consequent to the imposition of governmental censorship on his Rose al-Youssuf publishing empire in late 1964, ᶜAbd al-Quddūs has continued active in political journalism but less so in fiction production. Appointed editor of Akhbār al-Yawm, a popular daily newspaper, in 1966, he has published few recent stories. Perhaps his most significant was the story: ᶜUlba min al-Safīḥ al-Ṣadi' (A Rusty Tin or Can), published in the weekly al-Musawwar (The Illustrated) in April, 1966. In this lengthy short story the narrator reviews with nostalgia his youthful hopes for restructuring Egyptian life on a new basis of equality and justice. His own participation in the

Revolution has, however, he can now see, merely resulted in the imposition of a new order in which members of the middle-class, bureaucrats important in Cairo government like himself and land-owning tyrants like his brother, can perpetuate their exploitation of the lower-classes. Encounters with the now imprisoned village idiot, whose attitudes represent and symbolise the narrator's own earlier idealism, and with a peasant woman whom he had once innocently loved but now abused, awaken him to the ugly reality of his present life. The story ends with his re-affirmation of the early objectives of the Revolution and the expression of his determination to work towards their accomplishment.

Iḥsān ᶜAbd al-Quddūs, for all the extensiveness of his published works and their success in other media as films and adaptations for broadcasting and television, has, however, received scant serious attention from literary critics, whether Arab or Orientalist. Nevertheless his influence in the development of fiction and political journalism in Arabic has clearly been substantial. He stands out particularly as a dedicated experimentalist with style in Arabic, having consistently employed colloquial in both dialogue and in descriptive passages. Unusually concise and direct, his writings are entertaining and rarely repetitive. Clearly more concerned with examining 'problems' in his society through his plots and less interested in comprehensive character delineation or the development of themes of truly universal applicability, Iḥsān ᶜAbd al-Quddūs has written much that is enlightening of the Egypt of the mid-20th century.

FOOTNOTES

1. Full text of proclamation is given in: J. Christopher Herold Bonaparte in Egypt (London: 1962), pp. 69-70.

2. Ibid, pg. 70.

3. Ibid, pg. 171, quoting from Vol. VI, pp. 70-71 of the French translation (9 vols. Cairo: 1888-96) of al-Jabartī's ᶜAjā'ib al-'Āthār.

4. See Jurjī Zaidān, Tārīkh Ādāb al-Lughat al-ᶜArabīya, (Beirut: 1967, 2nd Edition, pt. 4) pg. 619.

5. ᶜAlī Mubārak, al-Khutat al-Jadīdah, (Cairo: 1305 A.H. pt. 13), pg. 51. Quoted in Badawī: Rifaᶜa Rāfiᶜ al-Tahtāwī (Cairo: 2nd Edition, no date) pg. 13.

6. ᶜAlī Mubārak, Muqaddima Watanīya Misrīya (Cairo: 1305 A.H.) pg. 3. Quoted in Badawī ibid pg. 10-11.

7. al-Taḥtāwī writes with particular enthusiasm about al-ᶜAṭṭār in Manāhij al-Albāb pg. 375.

8. al-Sayyid Ṣāliḥ Majdī Hilyat al-Zamān (Cairo: 1958) pg. 29.

9. Naẓm al-ᶜUqūd fī Kasr al-ᶜŪd. Paris, 1826. The translation is of an ode La Lyre Brisée by Yūsuf ᶜAjūb. See Badawī, op. cit. pg. 22.

10. Hilyat al-Zamān, pg. 61.

11. Takhlīṣ, introduction, pg. 56.

12. See excellent interpretative review of his work in A.H. Hourani, Arabic Thought in the Liberal Age. (Oxford: 1962), pp. 72-85.

13. Some passages of translation are available in: I. Abu Lughud, The Arab Rediscovery of Europe, (Princeton: 1963).

14. See: George Antonius, The Arab Awakening (New York: 1965) pp. 40-44.

15. See: Iliya Harik: Politics and Change in a Traditional Society (Princeton: 1968), pp. 15-17.

16. See: Antonius: loc. cit. pg. 54.

17. See E. Kedourie: Afghani and 'Abduh (London: 1966) and N. Keddie: An Islamic Response to Imperialism (California: 1968) for the major studies in English.

18. Several Arabic editions have appeared in the past decades. One essay, on The Materialists in India is given in English translation in N. Keddie, op. cit. pp. 175-180.

19. English translation in N. Keddie, op. cit. pp. 181-187.

20. The letter from ᶜAbduh in Beirut to al-Afghānī in Paris is summarized in E. Kedourie, op. cit. pp. 44-45.

21. See: E. Kedourie's, Afghānī and 'Abduh (London: 1966 appendix 1), pp. 66-68 for the translation of parts of one such letter written to al-Afghānī from ᶜAbduh's exile in Beirut.

22. Translated into English under the title: Theology of Unity by K. Cragg (London: 1966) and into French by B. Michel and Moustapha Abdel Razik, (Paris: 1925 & 1965).

23. G. Young: Egypt (London: 1927), pg. 104.

24. In ᶜAlī al-Ḥadīdī; ᶜAbd Allah al-Nadīm, (Cairo: 196?), pg. 89 quoting the newspaper al-Tijāra 9/22/1879 and al-Tankīt wa al-Tabkīt 7/17/1881.

25. W.S. Blunt, Secret History of the English Occupation of Egypt (London: 1907), 2nd edition, pp. 327-328.

26. Ibid, pg. 330.

27. Quoted from Sanūᶜ's unpublished Memoires in I.L. Gendzier, The Practical Visions of Yaᶜqūb Sanūᶜ (Cambridge; Mass: 1966) pg. 16.

28. Gendzier, op. cit. pg. 31.

29. See: al-Rāfiᶜī, A: Mustafā Kāmil: (Cairo, several editions) and Steppat, F.: Nationalismus & Islam bei Mustafā Kāmil Die Welt des Islams (1956 Vol. 4) pp. 241-348.

30. Egyptian-French Letters translated by F. Ryan, (Cairo: 1909) pg. 2.

31. Translated by Abdus-Samad Sharafuddin (Bombay: 1958 & 1960).

32. By Henri Laoust: Le Califat dans la doctrine de Rasid Rida (Beirut: 1938) Institut Francais de Damas.

33. See: S.G. Haim, Arab Nationalism - an anthology(University of California: 1964) pp. 27-28.

34. See opposing views of the intellectual origins of this work in S.G. Haim: Blunt and Kawakebi" Oriente Moderno, (1955) pp. 132-143 and Khaldun S. al-Husary Three Reformers (Beirut: 1966) pp. 94-99.

35. Given in English translation in Haim, op, cit. pp. 78-80.

36. See: Jurjī Zaidān-Tarjama Hayātih, a volume of articles and praise in memory of Zaidān edited by his son Emīl published in Cairo, 1915, and Zaidān's memoirs: Mudhakkirat (ed. S. al-Munajjid; Beirut: 1968).

37. E.J. Brill, (Leyden: 1907).

38. In his Ruwwād al-Nahḍa al-Ḥadītha (Beirut: 1966), pg. 268.

39. See: Rashīd Riḍā: Tā'rīkh al-'ustādh al-Imām (Cairo: 1931) v. 1, pg. 811.

40. Miṣr al-Jadīda (Cairo: 1913), page D of introduction.

41. Ibid.

42. Translated by: L.O. Schuman (E.J. Brill, Leiden: 1961) pg. 267.

43. Ibid. pg. 42.

44. Ibid. pg. 237.

45. Ibid. pg. 130.

46. Ibid. pg. 79.

47. For these and other biographical details see chiefly: Kahlil Gibran: a biography by Mikhail Naimy, New York, 1950; Kahlil Gibran: a self-portrait ed. A.R. Ferris New York 1959 and Khalīl Gibrān-his Background, Character and works Beirut, 1963.

48. Quoted in Muhammad Yūsuf Najam: al-Qissa fi al-Adab al-ᶜArabī al-Ḥadīth 2nd edition, (Beirut: 1961), pg. 263.

49. For details of Nuᶜaima's life see his three volume autobiography: Sabᶜūn Beirut 1959-60 and Nadeem N. Naimy: Mikhail Naimy-an introduction Beirut 1967.

50. See: Sabᶜūn, Vol. 2 pp. 194-195.

51. See: N. Naimy, op. cit. Chapter Seven, pp. 200-222.

52. Ibid: pp. 204-230 for a detailed analysis of the philosophic content of Nuᶜaima's essays.

53. See analysis in Abdel-Aziz Abdel-Meguid: The Modern Arabic Short Story, Cairo, no date pg. 103 and text ibid. pp. 79-88. See also N. Naimy, op. cit pp. 153-155.

54. See Khalīl Ḥāwī: Khalīl Gibrān: His Background, Character and Works, (Beirut: 1963) pp. 81-117.

55. For biographical information see chiefly S. Al-Kayyālī: Amīn al-Rīḥānī (Cairo: 1960), Jamīl Jabr: Amīn al-Rīḥānī, (Beirut: 1964) and al-Rīḥānī's own Qalb Lubnān, (Beirut: 1947 & 1958).

56. Op. cit. preface pg. XIX.

57. Op. cit. pg. 23.

58. See Jamīl Jabr, op. cit. pg. 40.

59. H.A.R. Gibb: Studies on the Civilization of Islam, (Bostom: 1962) pg. 290.

60. Op. cit. (Cairo: 1920), pg. 33.

61. See Abdel-Aziz Abdel-Meguid: The Modern Arabic Short Story (Cairo: no date), pg. 95 et. seq.

62. See discussion in: 'Anīs al-Maqdisī: al-Funūn al-'Adabīya wa 'A^{c}lāmuhā (Beirut: 1963) pg. 292.

63. See ^{c}Abd al-Raḥmān Ṣidqī: Layālī Sāṭiḥ (Cairo: 1964) pp. 120-132.

64. Fu'ād Darāwa Kitāb al-Hilāl, ed., ^{c}Ashara 'Udabā' Yataḥaddathūna (Cairo: 1965) pp. 48-58.

65. Abdel-Meguid: op. cit. pg. 118.

66. Ismā^{c}īl Adham, a Russian-born convert to Islam and orientalist, insisted from internal evidence within his work, that al-Ḥakīm was born in 1903 or thereabouts, see his Tawfīq al-Ḥakīm (Cairo: 1940) pg. 64.

67. See: Muḥammad Mandūr: Masraḥ Tawfīq al-Ḥakīm (Cairo: 1966) pg. 10 et. seq.

68. For full treatments and exhaustive bibliographies dealing with al-Ḥakīm's work see in Arabic: Ghalī Shukrī: Thawrat al-Mu^{c}tazil (Cairo: 1966) and in English the unpublished Ph.D. dissertation, by Gilbert Tutunji, Indiana University, 1967: Tawfīq al-Ḥakīm.

69. Trans. Aubrey Eban, (Harvill Press; London , 1947.)

70. See Adham. op. cit. pg. 95.

71. Zahrat al-^{c}Umr, (Cairo: 1965) pg. 289.

72. In Naguib Ullah: Islamic Literature (New York: 1963) pp. 203-211.

73. The Tree Climber (Oxford: 1966) trans. D. Johnson-Davies.

PROVISIONAL AND PARTIAL BIBLIOGRAPHY.

MĀRŪN ᶜABBŪD

Works by Author

1. Adab al-ᶜArab, Beirut, al-Thaqāfa, 1960, 525 pp.
2. Ahādīth al-Qarya, Aqāṣīṣ wa Dhikriyāt, (2nd printing) Beirut, al-Thaqāfa, 1963, 234 pp.
3. ᶜAlā al-Miḥakk, Naẓarāt wa Ārā' fī al-Shiᶜr wa al-Shuᶜarā', (2nd printing), Beirut, al-Thaqāfa, 1963, 247 pp.
4. ᶜAlā al-Ṭā'ir, Beirut, al-Thaqāfa, 1957, 332 pp.
5. Al-Amīr al-Aḥmar, Qiṣṣa Lubnānīya, Ḥarīṣā, al-Būlisīya, 1948, 170 pp.
6. Aqzām Jabābira, Aqāṣīṣ, Beirut, Dār al-Makshūf, 1948, 216 pp.
7. Ashbāḥ wa Rumūz, (2nd printing) Beirut, al-Thaqāfa, 1965, 140 pp.
8. Dimaqs wa Urjuwān, (2nd printing) Beirut, al-Thaqāfa, 1964, 282 pp.
9. Fāris Āghā, Ḥikāyat Jīl Maḍā, Beirut, al-Thaqāfa, 1964, 279 pp.
10. Judud wa Qudamā', (2nd printing) Beirut, al-Thaqāfa, 1963, 335 pp.
11. Min al-Jirāb, Beirut, al-Thaqāfa, 1953, 190 pp.
12. Mujaddidūn wa Mujtarrūn, Beirut, al-Thaqāfa, 1961, 250 pp.
13. Naqadat ᶜĀbir, Beirut, al-Thaqāfa, 1959, 304 pp.
14. Qabl Infijār al-Burkān, Beirut, al-Thaqāfa, 1958, 245 pp.
15. Al-Ru'ūs, (3rd printing) Beirut, Mārūn ᶜAbbūd, 1967, 342 pp.
16. Ruwwād al-Nahḍa al-Ḥadītha, Beirut, al-Thaqāfa, 1966, 286 pp.
17. Ṣaqr Lubnān, Beirut, al-Kashshāf, 1950, 226 pp. (about Aḥmad Fāris al-Shidyāq)
18. Al-Shaykh Bishāra al-Khūrī, Beirut, al-Makshūf, 1950, 179 pp.
19. Al-Shiᶜr al-ᶜĀmmī, (1st printing) Beirut, Mārūn ᶜAbbūd, 1968, 151 pp.
20. Subul wa Manāhij, Beirut, al-Thaqāfa, 1955, 303 pp. (essays)
21. Wujūh wa Ḥikāyāt, (2nd printing) Beirut, al-Makshūf, 1962, 175 pp.
22. Zawābiᶜ, Beirut, al-Makshūf, 1946, 322 pp.
23. Zawbaᶜat al-Duhūr, Beirut, al-Makshūf, 1945, 276 pp.

Book Studies on Author

1. Asᶜad al-Sakkāf, Mārūn ᶜAbbūd al-Nāqid, Beirut, al-Thaqāfa, 1966, 262 pp.

MUḤAMMAD ᶜABDUH

Works by Author

1. Risāla fī Ibṭāl Madhhab al-Dahrīyīn, Beirut, 1885, 68 pp. (written by Jamāl al-Dīn al-Afghānī in Persian, translated into Arabic by Muḥammad ᶜAbduh)

2. Risālat al-Tawḥīd, Cairo, al-Maᶜārif, 1966, 191 pp. (1st printing - Cairo, Maṭbaᶜat Būlāq, 1897, 134 pp.)

3. Risālat al-Tawhid, Librairie Orientaliste Paul Geuthner, Paris, 1965, 147 pp. (translated from Arabic into French by B. Michel and le Cheikh Moustapha Abdel Razik)

4. Taqrīr Faḍīlat Muftī al-Diyār al-Miṣrīya al-Ustādh al-Shaykh Muḥammad ᶜAbduh fī Iṣlāḥ al-Maḥakim al-Sharᶜīya, Cairo, al-Manār, 1900 84 pp.

5. Al-Basā'ir al-Naṣīrīya fī ᶜIlm al-Manṭiq, Cairo (Bulaq), al-Kubrā al-Amīrīya, 1898, 191 pp. (written by ᶜUmar ibn Sahlān al-Sāwijī, commentary by Muḥammad ᶜAbduh)

6. Hāshiyatā ᶜAbd al-Karīm al-Siyālkūtī wa Muḥammad ᶜAbduh ᶜalā Sharh Muḥammad bin Asᶜad al-Shahīr bil-Jalāl ?al-Dawwānī? ᶜalā al-ᶜAqā'id al-ᶜAḍudīya, Cairo, al-Khayrīya, 1905, 212 pp.

7. Al-Islām wa al-Nasrānīya maᶜa al-ᶜIlm wa al-Madanīya, Cairo, al-Hilāl, 1959, 193 pp. (1st printing - Cairo, Muḥammad Rashīd Riḍā, 1905,192 pp.)

8. Tafsīr al-Qur'ān al-Ḥakīm, Cairo, 1906.

9. Al-Qaṣīda al-ᶜAlawīya, Cairo, 1918, 62 pp. (commentary by Muḥammad ᶜAbdu

10. Tafsīr Juz' ᶜAmm, Cairo, 1967, 188 pp. (1st printing - Cairo,Miṣr, 1922, 187 pp.)

11. Maqāmāt Abī al-Faḍl Badīᶜ al-Zamān al-Hamadhānī, Beirut, al-Kāthūlīkīya, 1924, 265 pp. (commentary by Muḥammad ᶜAbduh) (3rd printing)

12. Al-ᶜAqīda al-Muḥammadīya, Cairo, al-Manār, 1925, 31 pp. (2nd printing)

13. Al-Islām, Dīn al-ᶜIlm wa al-Madanīya, Cairo, al-Hilāl, 1961, 166 pp.

14. Al-ᶜUrwatal-Wuthqā, Cairo, al-ᶜArab, 1958, 428 pp. (by Jamāl al-Dīn al-Afghānī and Muḥammad ᶜAbduh) (2nd printing).

15. Fātihat al-Kitāb, Tafsīr Muḥammad ᶜAbduh, Cairo, al-Taḥrīr lil-Ṭibāᶜa wa al-Nashr, 1962, 47 pp.

16. Mudhakkirāt al-Imām Muḥammad ᶜAbduh, Cairo, al-Hilāl, 1963, 175 pp.

17. Al-Muslimūn wa al-Islām, Cairo, al-Hilāl, 1963, 217 pp.

18. Nahaj al-Balāgha, Beirut, al-Andalus lil-Ṭibāᶜa wa al-Nashr, 1963, 675 pp. (4 volumes) (by Muḥammad ibn Ḥusayn al-Sharīf al-Raḍī, with commentary by Muḥammad ᶜAbduh)

2. (MUḤAMMAD ᶜABDUH)

Works by Author (cont'd)

19. Mushkilāt al-Qur'ān wa Mushkilāt al-Aḥādīth, Cairo, al-Imām, 1964, 148 pp. (commentary by Yūsuf Zakarīya ᶜAlī)

20. Durūs min al-Qur'ān, Cairo, al-Hilāl, 1965, 158 pp.

21. Tafsīr Ṣurat al-ᶜAṣr, Beirut, 1968.

Book Studies on Author

1. ᶜAbd al-Munᶜim Ḥamāda, Muḥammad ᶜAbduh, Cairo, 1945.

2. ᶜAbdullāh Maḥmūd Shiḥāta, Manhaj al-Imām Muḥammad ᶜAbduh fī Tafsīr al-Qur'ān al-Ḥakīm, Cairo, Al-Majlis al-Aᶜlā, 1963, 264 pp.

3. Aḥmad al-Shāyib, Al-Shaykh Muḥammad ᶜAbduh, Cairo, al-Iskandarīya bil-ᶜAṭṭārīn, 1929, 64 pp.

4. Charles C. Adams, Islam and Modernism in Egypt, New York, Russell and Russell, 1969, 283 pp.

5. Elie Kedourie, Afghani and Abduh, an Essay on Religious Unbelief and Political Activism in Modern Islam, London, F. Cass, 1966, 97 pp.

6. Gibb, Wijhat al-Islām, Cairo, 1934, (translated into Arabic by Muḥammad ᶜAbd al-Hādī Abū Raydah

7. Ḥasan al-Shaykha, Maᶜa al-Imām Muḥammad ᶜAbduh fī Madrasatihi al-Adabīya, Cairo, Al-Jāmiᶜ al-Azhar, 1962, 55 pp.

8. Jamal Mohammed Ahmed, The Intellectual Origins of Egyptian Nationalism, London and New York, Oxford U. Press, 1960, 135 pp.

9. Malcolm Kerr, Islamic Reform: the Political and Legal Theories of Muhammad Abduh and Rashid Rida, Berkeley, U. of California Press, 1966, 249 pp.

10. Muḥammad Bashīr Khūla, Al-Shaykh Muḥammad ᶜAbduh al-Muṣliḥ al-Dīnī fī al-Qarn al-Tāsiᶜ ᶜAshar. (thesis for degree at American U. of Beirut, June, 1951, 98 pp., dissertation No. 15).

11. Muḥammad Rashīd Riḍā, Tafsīr al-Qur'ān al-Karīm, Cairo, al-Manār, 1947, 12 volumes.

12. Muḥammad Rashīd Riḍā, Tārīkh al-Ustādh al-Imām al-Shaykh Muḥammad ᶜAbduh, Cairo, al-Manār, 1925, 3 volumes.

13. Muḥammad Ṣabīḥ, Al-Shaykh Muḥammad ᶜAbduh, Cairo, ᶜIsā al-Bābī al-Ḥalabī, 1944, 168 pp.

14. Muṣṭafā ᶜAbd al-Rāziq, Muḥammad ᶜAbduh, Cairo, 1946, 136 pp.

15. Osman Amin, Muhammad Abduh, Washington, American Council of Learned Societies, 1953, 103 pp. (translated from Arabic into English by Charles Wendell)

3. (MUHAMMAD ᶜABDUH)

Book Studies on Author (cont'd)

16. Qadrī Qalᶜajī, Muḥammad ᶜAbduh, Beirut, al-ᶜIlm lil-Malāyīn, 1947.

17. Shaykh ᶜAbd al-Jawād Sulaymān, Al-Shaykh Muḥammad ᶜAbduh, Cairo, 1951, 46 pp.

18. Sulaymān Dunyā, Al-Shaykh Muḥammad ᶜAbduh bayn al-Falāsifa wa al-Kalāmīyīn Cairo, 1958, 730 pp. (2 volumes)

19. ᶜUthmān Amīn, Rā'id al-Fikr al-Miṣrī, al-Imām Muḥammad ᶜAbduh, Cairo, al-Anjlū al-Miṣrīya, 1965, 325 pp. (2nd printing)

20. ᶜUthmān Amīn, Ruwwād al-Waᶜy al-Insānī fī al-Sharq al-Islāmī, Cairo, al-Qalam, 1961, 148 pp.

21. Al-Ustādh al-Imām al-Shaykh Muḥammad ᶜAbduh, Cairo, 1923. (70 page brochure containing statements by the Lajnat Iḥyā' Dhikrā Muḥammad ᶜAbduh)

MUḤAMMAD ᶜABD AL-ḤALĪM ᶜABDULLĀH

Works by Author

1. Alwān min al-Saᶜāda, Cairo, Maktabat Miṣr, 1963, 202 pp.
2. Ashyā' lil-Dhikrā wa Qiṣaṣ Ukhrā, Cairo, Miṣr, 1964, 214 pp.
3. Baᶜd al-Ghurūb. Cairo, Miṣr, no date, 223 pp.
4. Al-Bāḥith ᶜan al-Ḥaqīqa, Cairo, Miṣr, 1967, 139 pp.
5. Al-Bayt al-Ṣāmit, Cairo, Miṣr, 1966, 228 pp.
6. Al-Ḍafīra al-Sawdā', Cairo, Miṣr, 1962?, 211 pp.
7. Ghuṣn al-Zaytūn, Cairo, Miṣr, 1960?, 242 pp.
8. Ḥāffat al-Jarīma. Cairo, Miṣr, no date.
9. Al-Janna al-ᶜAdhrā', Cairo, Miṣr, 1963, 222 pp.
10. Khuyūṭ al-Nūr, Cairo, Miṣr, 1965, 210 pp.
11. Laqīṭa, Laylat Gharām, Cairo, Miṣr lil-Ṭibāᶜa, 195-, 219 pp.
12. Lil-Zaman Baqīya, Cairo, Miṣr, 1969, 170 pp.
13. Al-Māḍī lā Yaᶜūd, Cairo, Misr, 1966, 183 pp.
14. Min Ajl Waladī, (2nd printing), Cairo, Miṣr, 1957, 250 pp.
15. Al-Nāfidha al-Gharbīya, Cairo, al-Fikr al-ᶜArabī, 195-?, 164 pp.
16. Shajarat al-Lablāb. Cairo, al-kitāb al-Dhahabī, 1953.
17. Shams al-Kharīf. Cairo, Miṣr, no date.
18. Sukūn al-ᶜAṣifa, Cairo, Miṣr, 1960, 440 pp.
19. Usṭūra min Kitāb al-Ḥubb, Cairo, Miṣr, 1968, 184 pp.
20. Al-Wishāḥ al-Abyaḍ. Cairo, Misr, no date, 186 pp.

JAMĀL AL-DĪN AL-AFGHĀNĪ

Works by Author

1. Al-Aᶜmāl al-Kāmila li-Jamāl al-Dīn al-Afghānī, by Muḥammad ᶜImāra, Cairo, al-Kātib al-ᶜArabī, 1968, 547 pp.
2. An Islamic Response to Imperialism: Political and Religious Writings of Sayyid Jamal al-Din al-Afghani, by Nikki Keddie, Berkeley, U. of California Press, 1968, 212 pp.
3. Kitāb Tatimmat al-Bayān fī Tārīkh al-Afghān, Cairo, al-Mawsūᶜāt, 1901, 192 pp.
4. Al-Radd ᶜalā al-Dahrīyīn, Cairo, al-Karnak, 196-, 106 pp.
5. Risāla fī Ibṭāl Madhhab al-Dahrīyīn, Beirut, 1885. (translated from Persian to Arabic by Muḥammad ᶜAbduh)
6. Al-Qaḍā' wa al-Qadr, Cairo, al-Manār, 19--, 16 pp.
7. Al-ᶜUrwa al-Wuthqā wa al-Thawra al-Taḥrīrīya al-Kubrā, Cairo, al-ᶜArab, 1958, 428 pp.

Book Studies on Author

1. ᶜAbd al-Muḥsin al-Qaṣṣāb, Dhikrā al-Afghānī fī al-ᶜIrāq, Baghdad, al-Rashīd, 1945, 66 pp.
2. ᶜAbd al-Qādir al-Maghribī, Jamāl al-Dīn al-Afghānī, Dhikriyāt wa Aḥādīth, Cairo,al-Maᶜārif, 1967, 127 pp. (2nd printing)
3. ᶜAbd al-Raḥmān al-Rāfiᶜī, Jamāl al-Dīn al-Afghānī, Bāᶜith Nahḍat al-Sharq, Cairo, al-Kātib al-ᶜArabī, 1967, 188 pp.
4. ᶜAbd al-Sattār al-Huwārī, Jamāl al-Dīn al-Afghānī, Cairo, Wādī al-Mulūk, 1924, 48 pp.
5. Charles C. Adams, Islam and Modernism in Egypt - A study of the Reform Movement Inaugurated by Muhammed Abduh, London, Oxford U. Press, 1933, 283 pp.
6. Elie Kedourie, Afghani and Abduh - An Essay on Religious Unbelief and Political Activism in Modern Islam, London, F. Cass, 1966, 97 pp.
7. Fathī al-Ramlī, Al-Burkān al-Thā'ir, Jamāl al-Dīn al-Afghānī, Cairo, Al-Ñāshir al-ᶜArabī, 1966, 237 pp.
8. Maḥmūd Abū Rayyah, Jamāl al-Dīn al-Afghānī, Cairo, al-Maᶜārif, 1961, 112 pp
9. Maḥmūd Abū Rayyah, Jamāl al-Dīn al-Afghānī, Tārīkhuhu wa Risālatuhu wa Mabādi'uhu, Cairo, Al-Mājilis al-Aᶜlā, 1966, 268 pp.
10. Muḥammad al-Makhzūmī, Khāṭirāt Jamāl al-Dīn al-Afghānī al-Ḥusaynī, Beirut, al-Fikr al-Ḥadīth, 1965, 310 pp.

2. (Jamāl al-Dīn al-Afghānī)

Works about author (cont'd)

11. Muḥammad Rashīd Riḍā, Tārīkh al-Ustādh al-Imām al-Shaikh Muḥammad ᶜAbduh

12. Muhammad Saᶜīd ᶜAbd al-Majīd, Nābighat al-Sharq, al-Sayyid Jamāl al-Dīn al-Afghānī, Cairo, al-Kātib al-ᶜArabī, 1967, 129 pp.

13. Muḥsin al-Amīn al-ᶜĀmilī, al-Sayyid Jamāl al-Dīn al-Afghānī, Beirut, 1960, 34 pp.

14. Qadrī Ḥāfiz Ṭūqān, Jamāl al-Dīn al-Afghānī--Ārā'uhu wa Kifāḥuhu wa Āthāruhu fi Nahḍat al-Sharq, Jerusalem, Bait al-Maqdis, 1947, 38 pp.

15. Qadrī Qalᶜajī, Jamāl al-Dīn al-Afghānī, Ḥakīm al-Sharq, Beirut, al-ᶜIlm lil-Malāyīn, 1947, 112 pp.

16. ᶜUthmān Amīn, Ruwwād al-Waᶜy al-Insānī fī al-Sharq al-Islāmī, Cairo, al-Qalam, 1961, 148 pp.

QĀSIM AMĪN

Works by Author

1. Asbāb wa Natā'ij wa Akhlāq wa Mawāᶜiẓ, Cairo, Maṭbaᶜat al-Taraqqī, 1898,83 pp.
2. Les Égyptiens, Cairo, J. Barbier, 1894, 299 pp.
3. Al-Mar'a al-Jadīda, Cairo, Maṭbaᶜat al-Shaᶜb, 1911, 228 pp. (New printing-Cairo, 1939, 224 p.)
4. Taḥrīr al-Mar'a, Cairo, 1899 (new printing)-Cairo, Maṭbaᶜat Rūz al-Yūsuf, 1941, 173 pp.)

Book Studies on Author

1. Ahmad Khākī, Qāsim Amīn, Cairo, Iḥyā' al-Kutub al-ᶜArabīya, 1944, 154 pp. (in the series Aᶜlām al-Islām)
2. Faraj Sulaymān Fu'ād, Tārīkh Ḥayāt al-Marḥūm Qāsim Amīn, Cairo?, 52 pp.
3. Māhir Ḥasan Fahmī, Qāsim Amīn, Cairo, Al-Mu'assasa al-Miṣrīya al-ᶜĀmma lil-Ta'līf waal-Tarjama wa al-Nashr, 1963?, 237 pp.
4. Ṣāliḥ Ḥusayn, Qibal al-Radd ᶜalā Kitāb Taḥrīr al-Mar'a, Cairo?, 1898,15 pp
5. Muḥammad Talᶜat Ḥarb, Faṣl al-Khitāb fī al-Mar'a wa al-Ḥijab, Cairo, al-Taraqqī, 1901, 53 pp.
6. Widād Sakākīnī, Qāsim Amīn, 1863-1908, Cairo, al-Maᶜārif, 1965, 94 pp.

ᶜUTHMĀN AMĪN

Works by Author

1. Falsafat al-Lugha al-ᶜArabīya, Cairo, al-Miṣrīya lil-Ta'līf wa al-Tarjama, 1965, 110 pp.

2. Ihsā' al-ᶜUlūm (al-Farābī), (3rd printing), Cairo, al-Anjlū al-Miṣrīya, 1968, 175 pp. (edited by ᶜUthman Amīn)

3. Al-Jūwanīya, Uṣūl ᶜAqīda wa Falsafat Thawra, Cairo, al-Qalam, 1964, 342 pp.

4. Muhammad ᶜAbduh, Washington, American Council of Learned Societies, 1953, 103 pp. (ᶜUthmān Amīn's work translated into English by Charles Wendell)

5. Nazarāt fī Fikr al-ᶜAqqād, Cairo, al-Miṣrīya lil-Ta'līf wa al-Tarjama, 1966, 94 pp.

6. Rā'id al-Fikr al-Miṣrī, al-Imām Muhammad ᶜAbduh, Cairo, al-Nahḍa al-Miṣrīya, 1955, 287 pp. (Later printing - Cairo, al-Anjlū al Miṣrīya, 1965, 325 pp.)

7. Ruwwād al-Waᶜy al-Insānī fī al-Sharq al-Islāmī, Cairo, al-Qalam, 1961, 148 pp.

FARAḤ ANṬŪN

Works by Author

1. Ḥayāt al-Masīḥ, (translation of La Vie de Jésus Christ by E. Renan)
2. Ibn Rushd wa Falsafatuhu, Alexandria, 1903, 227 pp.
3. Al-Jāmiᶜa, (monthly published by author for 7 years)
4. Al-Mar'a fī al-Qarn al-ᶜIshrīn, (translation of La Femme au 19e Siècle by Jules Simon)
5. Al-Samā' wa Mā fīhā min Ajrām, Alexandria, 1903.
6. Siyāḥa fī Arz Lubnān, 270 pp.
7. Taḥrīr Amīrikā.

Novels

8. Ūrushalīm al-Jadīda aw Fatḥ al-ᶜArab Bayt al-Maqdis, Alexandria, 1904 176 pp.
9. Riwāyat al-Waḥsh, al-Waḥsh, al-Waḥsh, Alexandria, 1903.
10. Al-ᶜIlm wa al-Dīn wa al-Māl, al-Mudun al-Thalāth, Alexandria, 1903.
11. Būlis wa ?Farjīni? (translation of work by Bernadine de St. Pierre)
12. Al-Kukh al-Hindī, (translation of work by Bernardine de St. Pierre)
13. ?Atalā?. (Translation of work by Chateaubriand)
14. Al-Ḥubb ḥattā al-Mawt.
15. Nahḍat al-Asad.
16. Wathbat al-Asad. (abridgements of novels about the French Revolution by Dumas), Cairo, 1910
17. Farīsat al-Asad. (as above)
18. Mariam qabl al-Tawba. (parts of which appeared in Al-Jāmiᶜa)

Plays

19. Al-Burj al-Hā'il, Alexandria, Al-Maṭbaᶜa al-ᶜUthmānīya. (translation)
20. Ibn al-Shaᶜb. (translation of Le Fils du Peuple by Dumas)
21. Al-Sāḥira. (translation of La Magicienne by Vict. Sardoux)
22. Ūdīb al-Malik. (translation of Oedipe-Roi by Sophocle)
23. Al-Mutaṣarrif fi al-ᶜIbād. (translation)
24. Al-Sulṭān Ṣalāḥ al-Dīn aw Fatḥ Bayt al-Maqdis , Cairo, 1923, 63 pp.

2. (FARAḤ ANṬŪN)

Plays (cont'd)

25. ?Carmen?

26. ?Karmanīnā?

27. ?Rūzīnā?

28. ?Tāyīs?

29. Miṣr al-Jadīda wa Miṣr al-Qadīma, Cairo al-Ta'līf, 1913?, 120 pp.

30. Banāt al-Shawāriᶜ wa Banāt al-Khudūr.

31. Abū al-Hawl Yataḥarrak.

32. Dhāt al-Ward, (translation of work by Dumas)

Book Studies on the Author

1. Aḥmad Abū al-Khudar ?Munsī?, Farah Anṭūn Ṣāḥib Majallat al-Jāmiᶜa, Cairo, 1923, 45 pp.

2. Farah Anṭūn, Ḥayātuhu, Adabuhu, Muqtaṭafāt min Āthārihi, Beirut, Ṣadir, 1951, 383 pp. (Al-Manāhil, No. 29)

3. Marāthī Baᶜd al-Udabā' fī Rithā' Farah Anṭūn, Majallat al-Sayyidāt, III, p. 69.

4. Rūz Ḥaddād, Farah Anṭūn, Ḥayātuhu wa Ta'bīnuhu wa Mukhtārātuhu, Cairo, Majallat al-Sayyidāt wa al-Rijāl, 1923.

ᶜABBĀS MAḤMUD AL-ᶜAQQĀD

Works by Author:

1. ᶜĀbir Sabīl, (2nd printing) Cairo, al-Nahḍa al-Miṣrīya, 1965, 152 pp. (1st printong - 1937, 157 pp).
2. ᶜAbqarīyat al-Imām, (3rd printing) Cairo, al-Maᶜārif, 1966, 160 pp.
3. Al-ᶜAbqarīyāt al-Islāmīya, Beirut, al-Ādāb, 1966, 903 pp.
4. ᶜAbqarīyat al-Masīḥ, Cairo, Akhbār al-Yawm, 1953, 223 pp.
5. ᶜAbqarīyat al-Ṣiddīq, Cairo, al-Maᶜārif, 1961, 206 pp.
6. ᶜAbqarīyat Khālid, Cairo, al-Hilāl, 1963?, 174 pp.
7. ᶜAbqarīyat Muḥammad, Cairo, al-Hilāl, 1961?, 158 pp.
8. ᶜAbqarīyat ᶜUmar, Cairo, al-Hilāl, 1963?, 231 pp.
9. Abū al-Shuhadā' al-Ḥusayn bin ᶜAlī, Cairo, al-Hilāl, 1965, 150 pp.
10. ᶜĀlam al-Sudūd wa al-Quyūd, Cairo, Ḥijāzī, 1937, 221 pp. (2nd printing - al-Nahḍa al-Miṣrīya, 1965, 194 pp.)
11. Allāh, Cairo, al-Hilāl, 195-, 258 pp.
12. ᶜAmr Ibn al-ᶜĀṣ, Cairo, Dār al-ᶜUrūba, 1965, 294 pp.
13. Anā, Cairo, al-Hilāl, 1964, 345 pp.
14. ᶜAqā'id al-Mufakkirīn fī al-Qarn al-ᶜIshrīn, Cairo, Gharīb, 1968, 180 pp.
15. The Arabs' Impact on European Civilization, Cairo, Supreme Council for Islamic Affairs, Ministry of Wakfs, 196-, 175 pp. (translation by Ismail Cashmiry and Muhammad al-Hadi of ᶜAqqād's Athar al-ᶜArab fī al-Ḥaḍāra al-Urubbīya)
16. Ashtāt Mujtamaᶜāt fī al-Lugha wa al-Adab, Cairo, al-Maᶜārif, 1963, 156 pp.
17. Bayn al-Kutub wa al-Nās, Beirut, al-Kitāb al-ᶜArabī, 1966, 640 pp.
18. Dāᶜī al-Samā', Bilāl Ibn Ribāḥ Mu'dhin al-Rasūl, Cairo, Saᶜd Miṣr lil-Ṭibāᶜa wa al-Nashr, 1945, 187 pp.
19. Al-Dīmūqrāṭīya fī al-Islām, Cairo, al-Maᶜārif, 1964, 178 pp.
20. Dhū al-Nūrayn, ᶜUthmān Ibn ᶜAffān, Cairo, Dar al-ᶜUrūba, 1965, 238 pp.
21. Dirāsāt fī al-Madhāhib al-Adabīya wa al-Ijtimāᶜīya, Cairo, Gharīb, 1967, 250 pp.
22. Dīwān al-ᶜAqqād, Cairo, al-Muqtaṭaf wa al-Muqaṭṭam, 1928, 160 pp. (later printing - Aswān, Waḥdat al-Ṣiyāna wa al-Intāj, 1967, 356 pp.)

2. (ᶜABBĀS MAḤMŪD AL-ᶜAQQĀD)

Works by Author (cont'd)

23. Dīwān min Dawāwīn, Cairo, no date.

24. Al-Falsafa al-Qur'ānīya, Cairo, al-Hilāl, 1961?, 250 pp.

25. Falsafat al-Ghazzālī, Cairo, al-Idāra al-ᶜĀmma lil-Thaqāfa al-Islāmīya bil-Azhar, 1960, 14 pp. (lectures by al-ᶜAqqād)

26. Fāṭima al-Zahrā' wa al-Fāṭimīyūn, Cairo, al-Hilāl, 1966, 158 pp.

27. Fī Baytī, Cairo, al-Maᶜārif, 1955, 125 pp.

28. Al-Fuṣūl, (2nd printing) Beirut, al-Kātib al-ᶜArabī, 1967, 375 pp.

29. Fuṣūl min al-Naqd ᶜind al-ᶜAqqād, Cairo, al-Khānjī, 196-, 346 pp.

30. Ḥayāt al-Masīḥ fī al-Tārīkh wa Kushūf al-ᶜAṣr al-Ḥadīth, Cairo, al-Hilāl, 1965, 198 pp.

31. Ḥaqā'iq al-Islām wa Abāṭīl Khuṣūmihi, Cairo, Al-Mu'tamar al-Islāmī, 1957, 304 pp. (later printing - al-Qalam, Cairo, 1962, 282 pp.)

32. Ḥayāt al-Qalam, Cairo, al-Hilāl, 1964, 354 pp.

33. Hitler fī al-Mīzān, Cairo, 1942?, 226 pp.

34. Iblīs, Cairo, Akhbār al-Yawm, 1955, 231 pp.
(later printing - al-Hilāl, 1967, 226 pp.)

35. Ibn al-Rūmī, Ḥayātuhu min Shiᶜrihi, (5th printing) Cairo, al-Tijārīya al-Kubrā, 1963, 410 pp.

36. Ibn Rushd, Cairo, al-Maᶜārif, 1953, 119 pp.

37. Ibrāhīm, Abū al-Anbiyā', Cairo, al-Hilāl, 1965, 206 pp.

38. Al-Insān fī al-Qur'ān al-Karīm, Cairo, al-Hilāl, 1962?, 179 pp.

39. Al-Islām fī al-Qarn al-ᶜIshrīn

40. Jamīl Buthayna, (3rd printing) Cairo, al-Maᶜārif, 1965, 144 pp.

41. Jawā'iz al-Adab al-ᶜĀlamīya, Cairo, Al-Mu'assasa al-Miṣrīya, 1964, 127 pp.

42. Juḥā al-Ḍāḥik al-Muḍḥik, Cairo, al-Hilāl, 1956, 194 pp.

43. Khulāṣat al-Yawmīya wa al-Shudhūr, Cairo, ᶜAmmār , 1968, 271 pp.

44. Al-Lugha al-Shāᶜirīya, Mazāyā al-Fann wa al-Taᶜbīr fī al-Lugha al-ᶜArabīya, Cairo, Gharīb, 1968, 166 pp.

45. Mā baᶜd al-Baᶜd, Shiᶜr ᶜAbbās Maḥmūd al-ᶜAqqād, Cairo, al-Maᶜārif, 1967, 116 pp. (collected and edited by Amir al-ᶜAqqād)

46. Mā Yuqāl ᶜan al-Islām, Cairo, al-ᶜUrūba, 1963, 358 pp.

47. Majmaᶜ al-Aḥyā', Cairo, al-Maᶜārif, 1944, 112 pp.

48. Al- Mar'a fī al-Qur'ān al-Karīm, Cairo, al-Hilāl, 1962, 150 pp.

49. Maṭlaᶜ al-Nūr, aw Ṭawāliᶜ al-Baᶜtha al-Muḥammadīya, Cairo, al-ᶜUrūba, 1965, 254 pp.

50. Muᶜāwīya Ibn Abī Sufyān fī al-Mīzān, Cairo, al-Hilāl, 1966, 135 pp.

51. Muṭālaᶜāt fī al-Kutub wa al-Ḥayāt, Cairo, al-Istiqāma, 193-, 324 pp.

52. Muṭālaᶜāt wa al-Ḥayāt, Cairo, 1924

53. Al-Qarn al-ᶜIshrīn, Cairo, al-Anjlū al-Miṣrīya, 195-, 232 pp.

54. Al-Rahhāla "Kāf"--ᶜAbd al-Raḥmān al-Kawākibī, Cairo, Al-Majlis al-Aᶜlā, 1959, 185 pp.

55. Rajᶜat Abī al-ᶜAlā', Cairo, Maṭbaᶜat al-Ḥijāzī, 1939, 274 pp.

56. Rijāl ᶜAraftuhum, Cairo, al-Hilāl, 1963, 271 pp.

57. Riwāyat Qambīz fī al-Mīzān, Cairo,

58. Saᶜd Zaghlūl, Sīra wa Taḥīya, Cairo, Ḥijāzī, 1936, 628 pp.

59. Sārah, Cairo, Ḥijāzī, 1938, 192 pp.

60. Shāᶜir al-Ghazal: ᶜUmar Ibn Abī Rabīᶜa, Cairo, al-Maᶜārif, 1965 127 pp.

61. Al-Shaykh al-Ra'īs Ibn Sīnā, Cairo, al-Maᶜārif, 1967, 119 pp.

62. Shuᶜarā' Miṣr wa Bī'ātuhum fī al-Jīl al-Māḍī, Cairo, al-Ḥijāzī, 1937, 202 pp.

63. Al-Shuyūᶜīya wa al-Insānīya fī Sharīᶜat al-Islām, Cairo, al-Hilāl, 1963, 350 pp.

64. Al-Ṣiddīqa Bint al-Ṣiddīq, Cairo, al-Maᶜārif, 1961, 116 pp.

65. Al-Tafkīr Farīḍa Islāmīya, Cairo, al-Qalam, 1962, 225 pp.

4. (ᶜABBĀS MAḤMŪD AL-ᶜAQQĀD)

Works by Author (cont'd)

66. Yas'alūnak, (2nd printing) Beirut, al-Kitāb al-ᶜArabī, 1966, 374 pp.

67. Yawmīyāt, Cairo, al-Maᶜārif, 1963, 2 volumes.

Book Studies on Author

1. ᶜAbd al-Fattāḥ al-Dīdī, ᶜAbqarīyat al-ᶜAqqād, Cairo, al-Qawmīya, 1965, 266 pp.

2. ᶜAbd al-Fattāḥ al-Dīdī, Al-Naqd wa al-Jamāl ᶜind al-ᶜAqqād, Cairo, al-Anjlū al-Miṣrīya, 1968, 178 pp.

3. ᶜAbd al-Ḥayy Diyāb, ᶜAbbās al-ᶜAqqād Nāqidan, Cairo, al-Qawmīya, 1965, 873 pp.

4. ᶜAbd al-Ḥayy Diyāb, Al-Mar'a fī Ḥayāt al-ᶜAqqād, Cairo, al-Shaᶜb, 1969, 523 pp.

5. ᶜAbd al-Ḥayy Diyāb, Al-Nazᶜa al-Insānīya fī Shiᶜr al-ᶜAqqād, Cairo, al-Nahḍa al-ᶜArabīya, 1969, 314 pp.

6. Maḥmūd Ṣāliḥ ᶜUthmān, Al-ᶜAqqād fī Nadawātihi, Cairo, al-Fikr al-Ḥadīth, 1964, 240 pp.

7. Muḥammad Khalīfa al-Tūnisī, Alᶜ Aqqād, Dirāsa wa Taḥīya bi-Munāsabat Bulūghihi al-Sabᶜīn, Cairo, al-Anjlū al-Miṣrīya, 1961?, 316 pp.

8. Muḥammad Ṭāhir al-Jabalāwī, Fī Ṣuḥbat al-ᶜAqqād, Cairo, al-Anjlū al-Miṣrīya, 1964, 224 pp.

9. Muḥammad Ṭāhir al-Jabalāwī, Min Dhikriyātī fī Ṣuḥbat al-ᶜAqqād, Cairo, al-Anjlū al-Miṣrīya, 1967, 262 pp.

10. Shawqī Ḍayf, Maᶜa al-ᶜAqqād, Cairo, al-Maᶜārif, 1964, 174 pp.

11. ᶜUthmān Amīn, Naẓarāt fī Fikr al-ᶜAqqād, Cairo, al-Miṣrīya, 1966, 94 pp.

TAWFĪQ YŪSUF ᶜAWWĀD

Works by Author

1. Al-ᶜAdhārā, (3rd printing) Beirut, Ṣādir, 1966, 163 pp.
2. Ghubār al-Ayyām, Beirut, al-ᶜIlm lil-Malāyīn, 1965, 242 pp.
3. Qamīṣ al-Sūf, (2nd printing) Beirut, Bayrūt, 1957, 134 pp. (3rd printing - Beirut, al-Makshūf, 1964, 149 pp.)
4. Qiṣaṣ min Tawfīq ᶜAwwād, Beirut, al-Madrasa, 1966?, 246 pp.
5. Al-Raghīf, Beirut, al-Madrasa wa Dār al-Kitāb al-Lubnānī, 1964, 246 pp.
6. Al-Ṣabī al-Aᶜraj, (3rd printing) Beirut, al-Thaqāfa, 1963, 214 pp.
7. Al-Sā'iḥ wa al-Turjumān, Beirut, al-Makshūf, 1964, 164 pp.

SAMĪRA ᶜAZZĀM

Works by Authoress

1. Ashyā' Ṣaghīra, Beirut, al-ᶜIlm lil-Malāyīn, 1954.
2. Al-Sāᶜa wa al-Insān, Beirut, al-Ahlīya, 114 pp.
3. Wa Qiṣaṣ Ukhrā, Beirut, al-Ṭalīᶜa, 1960, 198 pp.
4. Al-Ẓill al-Kabīr, Beirut, al-Sharq al-Jadīd, 1956.

MAḤMŪD AL-BADAWĪ

Works by Author

1. ᶜAdhrāʾ wa Waḥsh, Cairo, Rūz al-Yūsuf, 1963, 167 pp.
2. Al-ᶜAraba al-Akhīra, Cairo, Rūz al-Yūsuf, 1961, 160 pp.
3. Al-Dhiʾāb al-Jāʾiᶜa, Cairo, al-Qawmīya, 1964?, 156 pp.
4. Ḥadatha Dhāta Layla, Cairo, al-Qawmīya, 1965, 119 pp.
5. Ḥāris al-Bustān, Cairo, al-Qawmīya, 196-, 160 pp.
6. Al-Jamāl al-Ḥazīn, Cairo, al-Qawmīya, 1962?, 111 pp.
7. Layla fī al-Ṭarīq, Cairo, Rūz al-Yūsuf, 1962, 162 pp.
8. Madīhat al-Aḥlām, Cairo, al-Qawmīya, 1963?, 121 pp.
9. Masāʾ al-Khamīs, Cairo, al-Qawmīya, 1966, 168 pp.
10. Zawjat al-Ṣayyād, Cairo, al-Qawmīya, 196-, 133 pp.

ḤALĪM BARAKĀT

Works by Author

1. ᶜAwdat al-Ṭā'ir ilā al-Baḥr, Beirut, al-Nahār, 1969, 162 pp.
2. Al-Qimam al-Khaḍrā', 1956.
3. Al-Ṣamt wa al-Maṭar, Beirut, Majallat Shiᶜr, 1958, 146 pp.
4. Sittat Ayyām, Beirut, Majallat Shiᶜr, 1961, 232 pp.

BUṬRUS AL-BUSTĀNĪ

Works by Author

1. Ādāb al-ᶜArab, (lecture given in 1869 about the reasons for the decline in literature).
2. Dā'irat al-Maᶜārif.
3. Al-Hay'a al-Ijtimāᶜīya wa al-Muqābala bayna al-ᶜAwā'id al-ᶜArabīya wa al-Faranjīya, (lecture given in 1869, then printed in 42 pp.)
4. Kashf al-Ḥijab fī ᶜIlm al-Ḥisāb, Beirut, 1848, 317 pp.
5. Kitāb Quṭr al-Muḥīṭ, Beirut, Lubnān, 1966, 2452 pp., (1st printing, Beirut, 1870)
6. Muḥīṭ al-Muḥīṭ, 2 volumes, 1870.
7. Maṣābīḥ al-Ṭālib fī Baḥth al-Maṭālib, Beirut, 1868, 361 pp.
8. Miftāḥ al-Miṣbāḥ, Beirut, 1868, 361 pp.
9. Qiṣṣat Rūbinsūn Krūzī (Robinson Crusoe) aw al-Tuḥfa al-Bustānīya fī al-Asfār al-Krūzīya.
10. Rawḍat al-Tājir fī Mabādi' Mask al-Dafātir, Beirut, 1851.
11. Taᶜlīm al-Nisā' (lecture given on Dec. 14, 1849)
12. Tārīkh Nābūlyūn (Napoleon) al-Awwal: Imbarāṭūr Faransā, Beirut, 1868,
13. Tarjamat al-Tawrāt, 1848, (done jointly with Dr. Ely Smith?, finished by Van Dyck, known as the "American translation")
14. Sharḥ Dīwān al-Mutanabbī, Beirut, al-Sūrīya, 1860, 382 pp.

Book Studies on Author

1. Fu'ād al-Bustānī, Al-Rawā'iᶜ: al-Muᶜallim Buṭrus al-Bustānī, Beirut, al-Kāthulīkīya, 1929, 44 pp.
2. Tanbīhāt al-Yāzijī ᶜalā Muḥīṭ al-Bustānī, edited by Salīm Shamᶜūn and Jibrān al-Nuḥās, Alexandria, Ṣalāḥ al-Dīn, 1933, 100 pp.
3. Al-Muᶜallim Buṭrus al-Bustānī - Dars wa Muntakhabāt, Taᶜlīm al-Nisā', Ādāb al-ᶜArab, by Fu'ad Afrām al-Bustanī, Beirut, al-Kathulikiya, 1929.

Articles about Author

1. Anṭūn Mawṣilī, "Al-Muᶜallim Buṭrus al-Bustānī", Al-Makshūf, No. 161, p.2.
2. Fu'ād al-Bustānī, "Al-Muᶜallim Buṭrus al-Bustānī: Ta'thīruhu fī al-Nahḍa al-ᶜAṣrīya", Risālat al-Salām, Beirut, XI, p. 221.

2. (BUṬRUS AL-BUSTĀNĪ)

Articles About Author (cont'd)

3. Al-Jinān, XIV (1883), pp. 289, 321, 337.

4. Jirjī Ṣafā, "Dā'irat Maᶜārif ᶜArabīya", Al-Kullīya, XVI, p. 393.

5. Jirjī Zaydān, "Buṭrus al-Bustānī, Aḥad Arkān al-Nahḍa al-Akhīra fī Bilād al-Shām", al-Hilāl, IV, P. 362.

6. "Al-Marḥūm al-Muᶜallim Buṭrus al-Bustānī", Al-Muqtaṭaf, VIII, p.1.

SALĪM AL-BUSTĀNĪ

Books by Author

1. Tārīkh Faransā al-Ḥadīth, Beirut, 1884, 104 pp.
2. Tārīkh Napoleon Bonaparte fī Miṣr wa Sūrīya, Alexandria, ?Gharzūzī?, 1914, 200 pp.

Works by Author (published in the newspaper Al-Jinān)

1. Al-Hiyām fī Jinān al-Shām, 1870.
2. Budūr, 1872.
3. Asmā', 1873.
4. Bint al-ᶜAṣr, 1875.
5. Fātina, 1877.
6. Salmā, 1878-79.
7. Sāmiya, 1882-84.
8. Zanūbiyā, Malikat Tadmur, 1871.
9. Al-Hiyām fī Futūḥ al-Shām, 1874.

10.

Translated Works (published in Al-Jinān) (around 1875-76)

1. Al-Gharām wa al-Ikhtirāᶜ.
2. Al-Ṣawāᶜiq.
3. Al-Ḥubb al-Dā'im.
4. Mādhā Ra'at Miss ?Drankton?
5. Al-Saᶜd fī al-Nahs.
6. ?Jirjīnah?
7. Ḥulm al-Muṣawwar.
8. Samm al-Afāᶜī.
9. Sirr al-Ḥubb.
10. Ḥīla Gharāmīya.
11. Ḥikāyat al-Gharām.
12. Zawjat John Carver.

SULAIMĀN AL-BUSTĀNĪ

Works by Author

1. Ilyādhat Hūmīrūs, Cairo, 1904, 1260 pp.
2. ᶜIbra wa Dhikrā aw al-Dawla al-ᶜUthmānīya qabla al-Dustūr wa baᶜdahu, Cairo, 1908.
3. Al-Dāʾ wa al-Shifāʾ , Cairo, al-ᶜArab, 1930, 16 pp.
4. Tarīqat al-Ikhtizāl al-ᶜArabī, (an abridged version of it is found in the 9th volume of Dāʾirat al-Maᶜārif under the title "Stīnūghrāfīya")
5. Contributions to the preparation of the 10th and 11th volumes of the Bustānīs' Dāʾirat al-Maᶜārif.

Book Studies on the Author

1. Al-Badawī al-Mulaththam, Al-Bustānī wa Ilyādhat Humīrūs, Cairo, al-Maᶜārif, 1963, 224 pp.
2. Fuʾād al-Bustānī, Sulaymān al-Bustānī (From al-Rawāʾiᶜ, Nos. 44-46)
3. Jurj Gharīb, Sulaymān al-Bustānī fī Muqaddimat al-Ilyādha, Beirut, al-Thaqāfa, 1966, 103 pp.
4. Jurjī Bāz, Sulaymān al-Bustānī - Ḥayātuhu, Beirut, Ṣādir, 20 pp.
5. Mīkhāʾīl Ṣuwāyā, Sulaymān al-Bustānī - Rāʾid al-Baḥth al-Adabī wa al-Naqd al-Ḥadīth, Beirut, al-Sharq al-Jadīd, 1960, 123 pp.
6. Najīb Mitrī al-Bustānī, Hadīyat al-Ilyādha (book of collected articles magazines, authors and poets, and then dedicated to the translator of the Iliad).

Articles about the Author

1. Al-Ab Khalīl Addah, "Ilyādhat Hūmīrūs: Nubdha fī Taᶜrībihā al-Ḥadīth", Al-Mashriq, 1904. VII, pp. 865, 911, 1118, 1138.
2. Al-Ab Narsīs Ṣāʾighiyān, "Imraʾat Sulaymān al-Bustānī wa Usratuhā", Majallat al-Ḥurrīya, (Baghdad), II, p. 452.
3. "Āl al-Bustānī", Al-Mashriq, V. 12, p. 929.
4. Fuʾād Afrām al-Bustānī, "Sulaymān al-Bustānī: al-Rajul al-Siyāsa, Rajul al-ᶜIlm wa al-Adab", Al-Mashriq, 1925, XXXII, pp. 778, 824, 908.
5. "Al-Ihtifāl fī al-Qāhira bi-Mutarjim al-Ilyādha", Al-Muqtaṭaf, No. 29, p. 610.
6. ᶜĪsā Iskandar al-Maᶜlūf, "Al-ᶜAllāma Sulaymān al-Bustānī", Majallat al-Majmaᶜ, V, p. 249.
7. Jibran Khalīl Jibrān, "Sulaymān al-Bustānī", Al-Ḥayāt al-Jadīda, V.3, p. 422.

2. (SULAIMĀN AL-BUSTĀNĪ)

Articles about Author (cont'd)

8. Majallat Sirkīs, No. 14.

9. "Al-Marḥūm Sulaymān al-Bustānī", Al-Mar'a al-Jadīda, X, p. 383.

10. Mīkhā'īl Ṣuwāyā, "Shā^{c}irīyat al-Bustānī fī Ta^{c}rīb al-Ilyādha", Al-Ṭarīq 3 No. 2, p. 7, No. 3, p.16.

11. Al-Muqtaṭaf, v. 67, p. 241.

12. Al-Muṣawwar, No. 35.

13. Nasīm Naṣr, "Sulaymān al-Bustānī, Qā'id al-Ṭalī^{c}a fī al-adab al-^{c}Arabī al-Ḥadīth", Al-Adīb, X, No. 11, 1951, p. 5.

14. Philip Ḥittī, "Maqāyīs al-Ḥayāt", Al-Hilāl, No. 34, p. 152.

15. "Ra'y ?Darīnī Khashaba? fī Tarjamat al-Ilyādha", Al-Risāla, VII, p. 872

16. "Al-Stīnūghrāfiyā aw ^{c}Ilm al-Ikhtizāl wa Ṭarīqat Sulaymān al-Bustānī", Al-Muqtaṭaf, XXII, p. 94.

17. "Sulaymān al-Bustānī", Al-^{c}Irfān, v. 10, p. 1041.

18. "Sulaymān al-Bustānī", Al-Khidr, V. 6, p. 572.

19. "Sulaymān al-Bustānī", Al-Mashriq, v. 12, p. 929.

20. "Sulaymān al-Bustānī fī Rithā' al-Udabā' Lahu", Al-Mawrid al-Ṣāfī, XI, p. 49. (qaṣīdas by Abū Māḍī, Khalīl Maṭrān and Ḥalīm ?Damūs?)

21. "Sulaymān al-Bustānī fī Maqarrihi al-Akhīr", Al-Khidr, VII, p. 49. (qaṣīdas by Ilīyā Abū Māḍī, Rashīd Nakhla and Khalīl Maṭrān)

22. "Tarjamat Ilyādhat Hūmīrūs ilā al-Sūryānīya ^{c}alā Yad ?Thāwafīl al-Rahāwī? Al-Mashriq, I, 1898, p. 1007.

23. Al-Zahra (Hayfa), v. 5, pp. 89-101

ṢALĀḤ DHUHNĪ

Works by Author

1. Ṣafaḥāt Maṭwīya, Cairo, Al-Qawmiya, 1963, 185 pp.
2. Shāriᶜ al-Dhikriyāt wa Qiṣaṣ Ukhrā, Cairo, 1961?, 94 pp.
3. Yaqẓat Rūḥ, Cairo, al-Qawmīya, 1964?, 169 pp.

Book Studies on Author

1. Samīr Wahbī, Ṣalāḥ al-Dīn Dhuhnī fī Dhikrāhu al-ᶜĀshira, Cairo, Sijill al-ᶜArab, 1963, 106 pp.

ZAYNAB FAWWĀZ

Works by Authoress

1. Al-Hawā wa al-Wafā', Cairo, 1892. (4-act play)
2. Ḥusn (possibly "Ḥasan") al-ᶜAwāqib aw Ghādat al-Zahra, Cairo, 1895.
3. Kitāb al-Durr al-Manthūr fī Ṭabaqāt Rabbāt al-Khudūr, Cairo (Būlāq), al-Kubrā al-Amīrīya, 1896, 552 pp.
4. Al-Malik Qūrūsh aw Malik al-Furs, Cairo, 1905.
5. Al-Rasā'il al-Zaynabīya, Cairo, al-Mutawassiṭa, 1905?, 218 pp.

Manuscript Works

1. Al-Durr al-Naḍīd fī Ma'āthir al-Malik al-Ḥamīd.
2. Madārik al-Kamāl fī Tarājim al-Rijāl.
3. a large collection of poetry.

ḤUSAYN FAWZĪ

Works by Author

1. Sindibād fī Riḥlat al-Ḥayāt, Cairo, al-Maᶜārif, 1968
2. Sindibād ilā al-Gharb, Cairo, al-Maᶜārif, 1967, 294 pp.
3. Sindibād Miṣr, Jawlāt fī Riḥāb al-Tārīkh, Cairo, al-Maᶜārif. 1961, 397 pp.

MUḤAMMAD FARĪD ABŪ ḤADĪD

Works by Author

1. Abū al-Fawāris, ᶜAntara Ibn Shaddād, Cairo, al-Maᶜārif, 1954, 183 pp. (later printing - 1961)
2. ᶜĀlam Juḥa, Cairo, al-Maᶜārif, 1963, 189 pp.
3. Anā al-Shaᶜb, Cairo, al-Maᶜārif, 1962, 381 pp.
4. Azhār al-Shawk, (2nd printing) Cairo, Lajnat al-Ta'līf, 1961, 284 pp.
5. Durūs al-Jughrāfiyā li-Ṭalabat al-Sana al-Rābiᶜa al-Thānawīya, Cairo, al-Raḥmāniya, 1925, 206 pp. (written jointly with Muḥammad Thabit)
6. ᶜIṣāmīyun ᶜUẓamā'min al-Sharq wa al-Gharb, Cairo, al-Hilāl, 1954, 258 pp. (Supervised by Muḥammad Farīd Abū Ḥadīd)
7. Al-Jughrāfiyā al-Ḥadītha, Cairo, al-Iᶜtimād.
8. Maᶜa al-Zamān, Cairo, al-Maᶜārif wa Maktabatuhā, 1945, 190 pp.
9. Makbith, Cairo, al-Maᶜārif, 1959, 258 pp.
10. Al-Malik al-Ḍalīl Imru' al-Qays, (4th printing) Cairo, al-Maᶜārif, 1966, 193 pp.
11. Al-Muhalhil, Sayyid Rabīᶜa, Cairo, Lajnat al-Ta'līf, 1961, 183 pp.
12. Risālat al-Salām wa al-Taḥrīr, Cairo, al-Idāra al-ᶜĀmma lil-Thaqāfa al-Islāmīya bil-Azhar, 1960, 19 pp. (lecture)
13. Sīrat al-Sayyid ᶜUmar Makram, Cairo, Lajnat al-Ta'līf, 1937, 219 pp.
14. Ummatunā al-ᶜArabīya, Cairo, al-Maᶜārif, 1961, 325 pp.
15. Al-Wiᶜā' al-Marmarī, Cairo, al-Maᶜārif, 1958, 333 pp.
16. Zanūbiyā, Malikat Tadmur, Cairo, al-Nahḍa al-Miṣrīya, 1941, 355 pp.

MUḤAMMAD ḤUSAYN HAIKAL

Works by Author

1. ᶜAshrat Ayyām fī al-Sūdān, Cairo, al-ᶜAṣrīya, 1927, 218 pp.
2. Bayn al-Khilāfa wa al-Mulk, ᶜUthmān bin ᶜAffān, Cairo, al-Nahḍa al-Miṣrīya, 1964, 150 pp.
3. Dīn Miṣr al-ᶜĀmm, 1912. (in French)
4. Al-Fārūq ᶜUmar, Cairo, Miṣr, 1945, 2 volumes; latest printing - Cairo, al-Nahḍa al-Miṣrīya, 1963, 2 volumes.
5. Fī Awqāt al-Farāgh, (2nd printing) Cairo, al-Nahḍa al-Miṣrīya, 1968, 383 pp.
6. Fī Manzil al-Waḥy, Cairo, Dār al-Kutub al-Miṣrīya, 1937, 672 pp; latest printing - Cairo, al-Nahḍa al-Miṣrīya, 1967, 707 pp.
7. Hākadhā Khuliqtu, (3rd printing) Cairo, al-Nahḍa al-Miṣrīya, 1968, 385 pp.
8. Ḥayāt Muḥammad, Cairo, Dār al-Kutub al-Miṣrīya, 1939, 607 pp.; latest printing - Cairo, al-Nahḍa al-Miṣrīya, 1963, 634 pp.
9. Al-Īmām wa al-Maᶜrifa wa al-Falsafa, Cairo, al-Nahḍa al-Miṣrīya, 1964, 168 pp.
10. Al-Imbarāṭūrīya al-Islāmīya wa al-Amākin al-Muqaddasa, Cairo, al-Hilāl, 1961?, 182 pp.
11. Jean Jacques Rousseau, Ḥayātuhu wa Kutubuhu, (2nd printing), Cairo, al-Nahḍa al-Miṣrīya, 1965, 356 pp.
12. Mudhakkirāt fī al-Siyāsa al-Miṣrīya, Cairo, al-Nahḍa al-Miṣrīya, 1951-3, 2 volumes.
13. Al-Sharq al-Jadīd, Cairo, al-Nahḍa al-Miṣrīya, 1963, 297 pp.
14. Al-Ṣiddīq abū Bakr, (2nd printing) Cairo, Miṣr, 1943, 437 pp.; latest printing - Cairo, al-Nahḍa al-Miṣrīya, 1964, 410 pp.
15. Tarājim Miṣrīya wa Gharbīya, (1st printing) 1929; 2nd printing - 1954.
16. Thawrat al-Adab, (3rd printing) Cairo, al-Nahḍa al-Miṣrīya, 1965, 219 pp.
17. Waladī, Cairo, 1931, 400 pp; latest printing - Cairo, al-Nahḍa al-Miṣrīya, 1966, 314 pp.
18. Zaynab, (latest printing) Cairo, al-Nahḍa al-Miṣrīya, 1967, 335 pp.

TAWFĪQ AL-ḤAKĪM

Works by Author

1. ᶜAdāla wa Fann, min Dhikriyāt al-Fann wa al-Qaḍā', Cairo, al-Ādāb, 1962?, 227 pp.
2. ᶜAhd al-Shayṭān, Cairo, al-Ādāb, 1964, 156 pp.
3. Ahl al-Fann, Cairo, al-Hilāl, 1934, 135 pp.
4. Ahl al-Kahf, (3rd printing), Cairo, Lajnat al-Ta'līf, 1940, 179 pp. (Later printing - Cairo, al-Ādāb, 1965, 175 pp.)
5. Arīnī Allāh, Cairo, al-Ādāb, 1958?, 235 pp.
6. ᶜAṣā al-Ḥakīm, Cairo, al-Ādāb, 1964, 215 pp.
7. Ashᶜab, Amīr al-Ṭufaylīyīn, Cairo, al-Ādāb, 1964, 199 pp.
8. Ashwāk al-Salām, Cairo, al-Ādāb, 1965, 167 pp.
9. ᶜAwdat al-Rūḥ, Cairo, al-Ādāb, 1964, 2 volumes
10. Al-Aydī al-Nāᶜima, (play) Cairo, al-Ādāb, 1965, 194 pp.
11. Bank al-Qalaq, Cairo, al-Maᶜārif, 1966, 240 pp.
12. Fann al-Ādāb, Cairo, al-Ādāb, 1958?, 326 pp.
13. Ḥimār al-Ḥakīm, Cairo, al-Ādāb, 1965, 164 pp.
14. Ḥimārī Qāl Lī, Cairo, al-Ādāb, 1964, 176 pp.
15. Īzīs, 1955.
16. Laylat al-Zifāf, Cairo, al-Ādāb, 1966, 189 pp.
17. Laᶜbat al-Mawt aw al-Mawt wa al-Ḥubb, Cairo, al-Ādāb, 1966, 176 pp.
18. Madrasat al-Shayṭān, Cairo, al-Hilāl, 1955, 210 pp.
19. Al-Malik Ūdīb, Cairo, al-Ādāb, 1965, 222 pp.
20. Maṣīr Ṣurṣār, Cairo, al-Ādāb, 1966, 192 pp.
21. Masraḥ al-Mujtamaᶜ, Cairo, al-Ādāb, 1956?, 785 pp.
22. Al-Masraḥ al-Munawwaᶜ, 1923-1966, (2nd printing) Cairo, al-Ādāb, 1966?,
23. Masraḥīyāt Tawfīq al-Ḥakīm, Cairo, al-Nahḍa al-Miṣrīya, 1937, 2 volumes
24. Maze of Justice, London, Harvill Press, 1947, 122 pp. (translated by A.S. Eban)

2. (TAWFĪQ AL-ḤAKĪM)

Works by Author (cont'd)

25. Min al-Burj al-ᶜĀjī, Cairo, al-Ādāb, 1941, 219 pp.

26. Min Dhikriyāt al-Fann wa al-Qaḍā', Cairo, al-Maᶜārif, 1953, 123 pp.

27. Muḥammad, Cairo, Lajnat al-Ta'līf, 1936, 485 pp. (later printing - Cairo, al-Ādāb, 1965, 423 pp.)

28. L'oiseau d'Orient, Cairo, Editions Hourus, 1941, 156 pp. (translated by Horus W. Schenouda, French version by Marik Brin)

29. Nashīd al-Inshād, 1940.

30. Pijmālyūn, Cairo, al-Ādāb, 1964, 173 pp.

31. Prāksā aw Mushkilat al-Ḥukm, Cairo, al-Tawakkul, 1939, 139 pp.

32. Qālabunā al-Masraḥī, Cairo, al-Ādāb, 1967, 199 pp.

33. Rāqiṣat al-Maᶜbad, Cairo, al-Ādāb, 1966?, 144 pp.

34. Al-Ribāṭ al-Muqaddas, Cairo, al-Ādāb, 1959?, 303 pp. (later printing - al-Ādāb, 1965, 272 pp.)

35. Riḥla ilā al-Ghad, Cairo, al-Ādāb, 1965, 183 pp.

36. Riḥlat al-Rabīᶜ, Cairo, al-Maᶜārif, 1964, 151 pp.

37. Al-Ṣafqa, Cairo, al-Ādāb, 1965, 160 pp.

38. Shahrazād, Cairo, al-Ādāb, 1964?, 168 pp.

39. Shajarat al-Ḥukm, Cairo, al-Ādāb, 1956?, 170 pp.

40. Shams al-Nahār, Cairo, al-Ādāb, 1965, 180 pp.

41. Sijn al-ᶜUmr, Cairo, al-Ādāb, 1964, 294 pp.

42. Sulaymān al-Ḥakīm, (2nd printing) Cairo, al-Ādāb, 1949?, 180 pp.

43. Al-Sulṭān al-Ḥā'ir, Cairo, al-Ādāb, 1965, 247 pp.

44. Sulṭān al-Ẓalām, Cairo, al-Ādāb, 1941, 165 pp. (later printing - 1963)

45. Al-Taᶜādulīya, Madhhabī fī al-Ḥayāt wa al-Fann, Cairo, al-Ādāb, 1966?, 124 pp.

46. Al-Ṭaᶜām li-Kull Fam, Cairo, al-Ādāb, 1963?, 206 pp.

47. Ta'ammulāt fī al-Siyāsa, 1954.

48. Taḥt al-Miṣbāḥ al-Akhḍar, 1942.

3. (TAWFĪQ AL-ḤAKĪM)

Works by the author (cont'd)

49. Taḥt Shams al-Fikr, (2nd printing) Cairo, al-Ādāb, 1941, 279 pp. (later printing - 1965, 263 pp.)

50. Théatre de Notre Temps: Demain, Mort ou Amour, J'ai Choisi, Paris, Nouvelles Editions Latines, 1960, 253 pp.) (translated from Arabic).

51. The Tree Climber, London, Oxford U. Press, 1966, 87 pp. (translated from Arabic by Denys Johnson-Davies)

52. ᶜUṣfūr min al-Sharq, (2nd printing) Cairo, al-Ādāb, 1941, 241 pp. (later printing - 1965, 195 pp.)
53. Al-Warṭa, Cairo, al-Ādāb, 1966, 199 pp.)

54. Yā Ṭālīᶜ al-Shajara, Cairo, al-Ādāb, 196-, 210 pp.

55. Yawmīyāt Nā'ib fī al-Aryāf, (2nd printing), Cairo, Lajnat al-Ta'līf,

56. Zahrat al-ᶜUmr, Cairo, al-Ādāb, 1965, 272 pp. (letters to a friend in France translated by the author from the French originals)

57. Al-Qasr al-Mashūr, Cairo, al-Ḥadīth, 193-, 212 pp. (written jointly with Ṭaha Ḥusain)

Book Studies on Author

1. Ghālī Shukrī, Thawrat al-Muᶜtazil, Dirāsa fī Ādāb Tawfīq al-Ḥakīm, Cairo, al-anjlū al-Miṣrīya, 1966, 416 pp.

2. Muḥammad Mandūr, Masraḥ Tawfīq al-Ḥakīm, Cairo, Nahḍat Miṣr, 1966,180 pp.

3. Gilbert V. Tutungi, Tawfiq al-Hakim and the West, unpublished dissertation, Indiana University, 1966.

YAḤYĀ ḤAQQĪ

Works by Author

1. ᶜAntar...wa Zhūliyat, Qiṣaṣ wa Lawḥāt, Cairo, Dar al-ᶜUrūba, 1961?, 186 pp.
2. Damᶜa....fa-Ibtisāma, Cairo, Rūz al-Yūsuf, 1965, 145 pp. (essays)
3. Fajr al-Qiṣṣa al-Miṣrīya, Cairo, al-Nahḍa, 1958, 141 pp.
4. Khallīhā ᶜalā Allāh, Cairo, al-Kātib al-ᶜArabī, 1967, 243 pp.
5. Khaṭawāt fī al-Naqd, Cairo, Dar al-ᶜUrūba, 196-, 302 pp.
6. Qindīl Umm Hāshim, Cairo, al-Maᶜārif wa Maktabatuhā, 1948?, 135 pp.
7. Dimā wa Ṭīn, Cairo, al-Maᶜārif, 1955.
8. Umm al-ᶜAwājiz, Cairo, Rūz al-Yūsuf, 1955.
9. Ṣaḥḥ al-Nawm, Cairo, al-Namūdhajīya, 1955 (?).

ṬAHA ḤUSAIN

Works by Author

1. Adīb, Cairo, Dā'irat al-Maᶜārif al-Islāmīya, 193-, 251 pp.
later printing - Cairo, al-Maᶜārif, 1961, 183 pp.

2. Aḥlām Shahrazād, Tel Aviv, 145 pp. 1961.

3. ᶜAlā Hāmish al-Sīra, Cairo, al-Maᶜārif, 1940; later printing - Cairo, al-Maᶜārif, 1960; latest printing - Cairo, al-Maᶜārif, 1966, 3 volumes

4. Alwān, Cairo, al-Maᶜārif, 1952, 380 pp. (essays)
later printing - Cairo, al-Maᶜārif, 1967, 381 pp.

5. Al-Ayyām, (3rd printing), Cairo, Lajnat al-Ta'līf,1935, 134 pp.
later printing - al-Maᶜārif, 196-, 2 volumes.

6. Bayna Bayn, (3rd Printing) Beirut, al-ᶜIlm lil-Malāyīn, 1963, 140 pp.

7. Duᶜā' al-Karawān, Cairo, al-Maᶜārif, 1959, 160 pp.

8. Falfasat Ibn Khaldūn al-Ijtimāᶜīya, Cairo, al-Ta'līf , 1925, 184 pp.
(written by author in French, translated into Arabic by Muḥammad ᶜAbdullāh ᶜInān)

9. Fī al-Adab al-Jāhilī, (latest printing) Cairo, al-Maᶜārif, 1962, 333 pp.

10. Al-Fitna al-Kubrā, Cairo, al-Maᶜārif, 1951-1953, 2 volumes.
later printing - Cairo, al-Maᶜārif, 1966.

11. Fuṣūl fī al-Adab wa al-Naqd, Cairo, al-Maᶜārif, 1966, 220 pp.

12. Ḥadīth al-Arbaᶜā', Cairo, Muṣṭafā al-Bābī al-Ḥalabī, 1937.
later printing - Cairo, al-Maᶜārif, 1964-66, 3 volumes.

13. Al-Ḥubb al-Dā'iᶜ, Cairo, al-Maᶜārif, 1951, 141 pp.
later printing - Cairo, al-Maᶜārif, 1962, 185 pp.

14. Jannat al-Ḥayawān, (2nd printing) Beirut, al-ᶜIlm lil-Malāyīn, 1966, 190 pp.

15. Jannat al-Shawk, Cairo, al-Maᶜārif, 1962, 152 pp.

16. Khiṣām wa Naqd, (2nd printing) Beirut, al-ᶜIlm lil-Malāyīn, 1960, 263 pp.

17. Maᶜa Abī al-ᶜAlā' fī Sijnihi, Cairo, 1939, 245 pp.
later printing - Cairo, al-Maᶜārif, 1961, 236 pp.

18. Maᶜa al-Mutanabbī, Cairo, al-Ta'līf, 1936, 2 volumes.
later printing - Cairo, al-Maᶜārif, 1962, 384 pp.

19. Min Adab al-Tamthīlī al-Gharbī, Beirut, al-ᶜIlm lil-Malāyīn, 1959, 230 pp.

2. (ṬAHA ḤUSAIN)

Works by Author (cont'd)

20. Min Adabīna al-Muᶜaṣīr, Cairo, al-ᶜArabīya, 1958, 195 pp.

21. Min Baᶜīd, Cairo, al-Raḥmānīya, 1935, 311 pp.

22. Min Ḥadīth al-Shiᶜr wa al-Nathr, Cairo, al-Sāwī, 1936, 312 pp.
later printing - Cairo, al-Maᶜārif, 1961, 174 pp.

23. Mir'āt al-Ḍamīr al-Ḥadīth, Beirut, al-ᶜIlm lil-Malāyīn, 1949, 159 pp.

24. Mir'āt al-Islām, Cairo, al-Maᶜārif, 1959, 311 pp.

25. Al-Muᶜadhdhabūn fi al-Arḍ, Cairo, al-Maᶜārif, 1952, 192 pp.
later printing - al-Maᶜārif, 1965, 192 pp.

26. Mudhakkirāt Ṭaha Ḥusain, Beirut, al-Ādāb, 1967, 263 pp.

27. Mustaqbal al-Thaqāfa fi Miṣr, Cairo, al-Maᶜārif wa Maktabatuhā, 1938, 2 volumes.

28. The Future of Culture in Egypt, (translation of the above by Sidney Glazer), Washington, American Council of Learned Societies, 1954.

29. Naqd wa Iṣlāḥ, (2nd printing) Beirut, al-ᶜIlm lil-Malāyīn, 1960, 280 pp. (essays)

30. Qādat al-Fikr, Cairo, al-Maᶜārif, 1964, 155 pp.

31. Al-Qaṣr al-Mashūr, (by Ṭaha Ḥusain and Tawfīq al-Ḥakīm) Cairo, al-Nashr al-Ḥadīth, 193-, 212 pp.

32. Riḥlat al-Rabīᶜ, Cairo, al-Maᶜārif, 1948, 118 pp.
later printing - al-Maᶜārif, 1967, 118 pp.

33. Ṣawt Abī al-ᶜAlā', Cairo, al-Maᶜārif, 1944, 131 pp.
later printing - al-Maᶜārif, 1965, 127 pp.

34. Shajarat al-Bu's, Cairo, al-Maᶜārif, 1961, 188 pp.

35. Sharḥ Luzūm Mā Lā Yalzam li-Abī al-ᶜAlā', (by Ṭaha Ḥusain and Ibrāhīm al-Ibyārī) Cairo, al-Maᶜārif, 195-.

36. Al-Shaykhān, Cairo, al-Maᶜārif, 1960, 304 pp.

37. The Stream of Days, A Student at Al-Azhar, (translation of Al-Ayyām by Hilary Wayment) London, New York, Longmans, Green, 1948, 134 pp.

38. Tajdīd Dhikrā Abī al-ᶜAlā', (later printing) Cairo, al-Maᶜārif, 1963, 291 pp.

39. Al-Tawjīh al-Adabī, Cairo, al-Amīrīya, 1948, 235 pp.

3. (ṬAHA ḤUSAIN)

Works by Author (cont'd)

40. Al-Waᶜd al-Ḥaqq, Cairo, al-Maᶜārif, 1960, 176 pp.

41. Āthār Abī al-ᶜAlā' al-Maᶜarrī, (edited by Ṭaha Ḥusain), Cairo, al-Qawmīya, 1964.

42. Mahmūd Amīn al-ᶜĀlim, Alwān min al-Qiṣṣa al-Miṣrīya, Cairo, al-Nadīm, 1956, 188 pp. (introduction by Ṭaha Ḥusain)

43. Al-Kātib al-Miṣrī, (Ṭaha Ḥusain - editor from 1945 to 1948), Cairo

44. Al-Muntakhabāt min Adab al-ᶜArab, (edited by Ṭaha Ḥusain and others), Cairo, al-Kutub al-Miṣrīya, 1932.

45. Kitāb Naqd al-Nathr, li-Abī al-Faraj Qudāma bin Jaᶜfar al-Kātib al-Baghdādī, Cairo, al-Kutub al-Miṣrīya, 1933. (edited by Ṭaha Ḥusain and ᶜAbd al-Ḥamīd al-ᶜIbādī)

46. Min al-Adab al-Tamthīlī al-Yūnānī Sophocles, Alaktrā, Īyās?, Antījūnā?, Ūidīpus Malikan, Cairo, al-Ta'līf, 1939, 320 pp. (translated into Arabic by Ṭaha Ḥusain)

Book Studies on Author

1. Ilā Ṭaha Ḥusain fī ᶜĪd Mīlādihi al-Sabᶜīn, Dirāsāt Muhdāt min Asdiqā'ihi wa Talāmīdhihi, (supervised by ᶜAbd al-Raḥmān Badawī), Cairo, al-Maᶜārif, 1962, 456 pp.

2. Instituto Universitario Orientale (Naples), Taha Husein, Naples, 1964, 310 pp. (omaggio degli arabisti italiani a Taha Husein in ocasione del settantacinquesimo compleanno)

3. Muhammad Luṭfī Jumᶜa, Al-Shihāb al-Rāṣid, Cairo, al-Muqtaṭaf, 1926, 317 pp. (about Ṭaha Ḥusain's Fī al-Adab al-Jāhilī)

4. Muhammad Sayyid Kīlānī, Ṭaha Ḥusain al-Shāᶜir al-Kātib, al-Qawmīya al-ᶜArabīya lil-Ṭibāᶜa, 1963, 176 pp.

5. Muhammad ᶜUmar Tawfīq, Ṭaha Ḥusain wa al-Shaykhān, Beirut, al-Maᶜārif, 1963, 223 pp.

6. Muṣṭafā Ṣādiq al-Rāfiᶜī, Taḥt Rāyat al-Qur'ān, al-Maᶜraka bayn al-Qadīm wa al-Jadīd, (5th printing) Cairo, al-Tijarīya al-Kubrā, 1963, 405 pp. (about Ṭaha Ḥusain's Fī al-Shiᶜr al-Jāhilī)

7. Sāmī al-Kīlānī, Maᶜa Ṭaha Ḥusain, (2nd printing) Cairo, al-Maᶜārif, 1966.

8. Taha Husayn: His Place in the Egyptian Literary Renaissance, by Pierre Cachia, London, Luzac, 1956, 260 pp.

MUḤAMMAD ḤĀFIẒ IBRĀḤĪM

Works by Author

1. Al-Bu'asā', Cairo, 1903, 2 volumes. (translation of Hugo's Les Misérables)

2. Dīwān Ḥāfiẓ Ibrāhīm, (2nd printing) Cairo, Dār al-Kutub al-Miṣrīya, 1939, 2 volumes. (later printing - Cairo, al-Amīrīya, 1954) (edited by Aḥmad Amīn, Aḥmad ?al-Zayyin? and Ibrāhīm al-Ibyārī)

3. Layālī Satīḥ, Cairo, al-Hilāl, 1959, 177 pp. (later printing - Cairo, al-Qawmīya, 1964, 171 pp., with an analytical historical study of the age, the writer and the book, by ᶜAbd al-Raḥmān Ṣidqī)

4. Al-Mūjiz fī ᶜIlm al-Iqtiṣād, Cairo, 1913?, 5 volumes. (written jointly with Khalīl Maṭrān)

5. Al-Tarbiya wa al-Akhlāq, 2 volumes.

6. ᶜUmar: Manāqibuhu wa Akhlāquhu, aw. ᶜUmrīyat Ḥāfiẓ, Cairo, al-Ṣabāḥ, 1918, 48 pp.

Book Studies on Author

1. ᶜAbd al-Ḥamīd Sanad al-Jundī, Ḥāfiẓ Ibrāhīm, Shāᶜir al-Nīl, (2nd printing) Cairo, al-Maᶜārif, 1968, 223 pp.

2. ᶜAbd al-Laṭīf Sharāra, Ḥāfiẓ, Dirāsa Taḥlīlīya, Beirut, Ṣādir, 1965, 238 pp.

3. Aḥmad al-Ṭāhir, Ḥāfiẓ Ibrāhīm, Ḥayātuhu wa Shiᶜruhu, Cairo, Arab League, Maᶜhad al-Dirāsāt al-ᶜArabīya al-ᶜĀliya, 1954, 65 pp. (lectures)

4. Kāmil Jumᶜa, Ḥāfiẓ Ibrāhīm, Mā Lahu wa Mā ᶜAlayhi, (2nd printing), Cairo, al-Qāhira al-Ḥadītha, 1960, 383 pp.

5. Al-Majlis al-Aᶜlā li-Riᶜāyat al-Funūn wa al-Ādāb, Mahrajān Ḥāfiẓ Ibrāhīm bil-Iskandarīya, 25 Yūlyū 1957, Cairo, al-Amīrīya, 1957, 246 pp.

6. Ṭāhir al-Ṭanāḥī, Suwar wa Ẓilāl min Ḥayāt Shawqī wa Ḥāfiẓ, Cairo, al-Hilāl, 1967, 161 pp.

YŪSUF IDRĪS

Works by Author

1. Ākhir al-Dunyā, Cairo, Rūz al-Yūsuf, 1961, 157 pp.
2. A Laysa Kadhālik? Cairo, 196-, 365 pp.
3. Arkhaṣ Layālī, Cairo, al-Qawmiya, 196-, 165 pp.
4. Al-ᶜAskarī al-Aswad wa Qiṣaṣ Ukhrā, Cairo, al-Maᶜrifa, 1962, 198 pp.
5. Al-ᶜAyb, Cairo, Rūz al-Yūsuf, 1963?, 130 pp.
6. Al-Baṭal, Cairo, al-Fikr, 1957.
7. Bi-Ṣarāḥa Ghayr Muṭlaqa, Cairo, al-Hilāl, 1968, 193 pp.
8. Al-Farāfīr, Cairo, 1964, 144 pp.
9. Ḥādithat Sharaf, Beirut, Manshūrāt Dār al-Ādāb, 1958, 179 pp. (stories)
10. Al-Ḥarām, Cairo, al-Hilāl, 1965, 146 pp.
11. Al-Laḥẓa al-Harija, Cairo, al-ᶜArabīya, 1958, 141 pp.
12. Lughat al-Ay Ay, Cairo, Rūz al-Yūsuf, 1965, 160 pp.
13. Al-Mahzala al-Arḍīya, Cairo, al-Masraḥ, 1966, 254 pp.
14. Malik al-Quṭn wa Jumhūrīyat Farḥāt, Cairo, al-Qawmīya, 1963?, 78 pp. (2 plays)
15. Qā'id al-Madīna, Cairo, Markaz Kutub al-Sharq al-Awsaṭ, 1964?, 365 pp.
16. Rijāl wa Thīrān, Cairo, al-Miṣrīya al-ᶜAmma lil-Ta'līf, 1964, 147 pp.

ADĪB ISḤĀQ

Works by Author

1. Al-Durar, Alexandria, al-Mahrūsa, 1886. (2nd printing - Beirut, al-Adabiya, 1909, 616 pp.) (selections by the author collected by Jirjis Mīkhā'īl Nuḥās)
2. Tarājim Miṣr fī Hādhā al-ᶜAṣr.
3. Andromacque, 44 pp. (tragedy in 5 chapters, by Racine, translated into Arabic)
4. Riwāyat Charlesmagne.
5. Gharā'ib al-Ittifāq.
6. Al-Bārīsīya al-Ḥasnā'. (novel)
7. Fukāhat al-ᶜUshshāq wa Nuzhat al-Iḥdāq, Beirut, 1874, 40 pp.

Works and Information about Author

1. Yūsuf Asᶜad Dāghir, Maṣādir al-Dirāsa al-Adabīya, pp. 111-113.
2. Ḥannā Fākhūrī, Tārīkh al-Adab al-ᶜArabī.
3. Jirjī Zaydān, Mashāhīr al-Sharq, II, 75-80.
4. Jirjis Kanᶜān, p. 600.
5. Mārūn ᶜAbbūd, Ruwwād al-Nahḍa al-Ḥadītha, p. 184.
6. Sirkīs, Muᶜjam al-Maṭbūᶜāt, 418.
7. Ṭarāzī, Tārīkh al-Ṣiḥāfa al-ᶜArabīya, II, p. 105.
8. Al-Ziriklī, Al-Aᶜlām, p. 91-92.

JIBRĀN KHALĪL JIBRĀN

Works by Author

1. Al-Ajniḥa al-Mutakassira, New York, Mir'āt al-Gharb, 1911, 146 pp. (later printing) Cairo, al-Hilāl, 111 pp.
2. Ālihat al-Ard, Cairo, al-ᶜAṣrīya, 1932, 40 pp. (translated from English by Anṭūniūs Bashīr)
3. ᶜArā'is al-Murūj, New York, al-Muhājir, 1905. (later printing) Cairo, al-Hilāl, 1944, 64 pp.
4. Al-Arwāḥ al-Mutamarrida, Cairo, al-Hilāl, 1922, 160 pp. (later printing) Cairo, al-Hilal, 1948, 127 pp.
5. Al-ᶜAwāṣif, Cairo, al-Hilāl, 1922.
6. Al-Badā'iᶜ wa al-Ṭarā'if, Cairo, al-ᶜArab, 1923, 223 pp.
7. Damᶜa wa Ibtisāma, Cairo, al-Hilāl, 176 pp. (1st printing) New York, al-Funūn, 1913)
8. Dīwān Shiᶜr, New York
9. The Earth Gods, New York, London, A.A. Knopf, 1931.
10. Fī ᶜĀlam al-Adab: al-Kitāba wa al-Shiᶜr, Cairo, al-Maḥrūsa, 1924, 190 pp.
11. Fī ᶜĀlam al-Ru'ya, Cairo?, 160 pp.
12. The Forerunner, His Parables and Poems, London, Heinemann, 1963, 64 pp.
13. The Garden of the Prophet, Knopf, 1933.
14. Ḥadīqat al-Nabī, Cairo, al-ᶜArab, 1950, 63 pp. (translated from English by Kamal Zakhir Laṭīf)
15. Jesus the Son of Man, New York, A.A. Knopf, 1928, 216 pp.
16. Jibrān Khalīl Jibrān wa al-Qawmīya al-ᶜArabīya, Beirut, al-Rābiṭa al-Thaqafīya, 1961, 108 pp.
17. Kalimāt Jibrān Khalīl Jibrān, Cairo, al-ᶜArab, 193-, 175 pp. (some of the author's works collected by Anṭūniūs Bashīr)
18. Khalil Gibran, A Self-Portrait, New York, Citadel Press, 1959, 94 pp. (translated from Arabic by Anthony R. Ferris)
19. The Madman, Knopf, 1920.
20. Al-Majmūᶜa al-Kāmila li-Mu'allafāt Jibrān Khalīl Jibrān, Beirut, Bayrut, 1961, 610 pp.
21. Mamlakat al-Khayāl, Cairo, al-Nahḍa, 1927, 126 pp.

2. (JIBRĀN KHALĪL JIBRĀN)

Works by Author (cont'd)

22. Al-Mawākib, New York, Mir'āt al-Gharb, 1918. (later printing) Cairo, al-ᶜArab, 1923, 30 pp.

23. Mukhtārāt min Jibrān Khalīl Jibrān, Beirut, Ṣādir, 194-, 120 pp.

24. Munājāt Arwāḥ, Cairo?, al-Shabāb, 1927, 176 pp. (later printing) Beirut, al-Andalus, 1963, 80 pp.

25. Al-Nabī, Cairo, al-ᶜArab, 1926, 155 pp. (translated from English by Anṭunius Bashīr)

26. Nubdha fī Mūsīqā, al-Muhājir, New York, 1905.

27. Nymphs of the Valley, Knopf, 1948.

28. The Procession, Kherallah, 1947.

29. The Prophet, New York, Knopf, 1953, 96 pp. (later printing - Knopf, 1967, 84 pp)

30. Prose Poems, New York, A.A. Knopf, 1934, 77 pp. (translated from Arabic by Andrew Ghareeb)

31. Raml wa Zabad, Cairo, al-ᶜArab, 1927, 86 pp. (translated from English by Anṭūnius Bashīr)

32. Rasā'il Jibrān, Damascus, Karam wa Maktabatuhā, 1945?, 62 pp.

33. Al-Sābiq, Cairo, al-Hilal.

34. Sand and Foam, A Book of Aphorisms, New York, A.A. Knopf, 1926, 85 pp.

35. The Secrets of the Heart, New York, Philosophical Library, 1947, 339 pp. (selected works translated from the Arabic by Anthony Riscallah Ferris and Martin L. Wolf)

36. Spirits Rebellious, New York, Philosophical Library, 1947, 120 pp. (translated from Arabic by A.R. Ferris and Martin Wolf)

37. A Tear and A Smile, London, W. Heinemann, 1950, 172 pp. (translated from Arabic by H.M. Nahmad)

38. Tears and Laughter, New York, Philosophical Library, 1946, 111 pp. (translated from Arabic by A.R. Ferris and Martin Wolf)

39. The Wanderer, Knopf, 1932.

40. Yasūᶜ ibn al-Insān, Cairo, al-ᶜAṣrīya, 1932, 244 pp. (translated from English by Anṭūnius Bashīr)

3. (JIBRĀN KHALĪL JIBRĀN)

Book Studies on Author

1. Amīn Khālid, Muḥāwalāt fī Dars Jibrān, Beirut, al-Kāthūlīkīya, 1933, 108 pp.

2. Amīn al-Rīḥānī, Dhikrā Jibrān, Beirut, Ṣādir, 1932, 11 pp.

3. Anṭūn Ghaṭṭās Karam, Muḥādarāt fī Jibrān Khalīl Jibrān, Sīratuhu wa Takwīnuhu al-Thaqāfī wa Mu'allafātuhu al-ᶜArabīya, Cairo, Arab League, Maᶜhad al-Dirāsāt al-ᶜArabīya al-ᶜĀlīya, 1964, 158 pp.

4. Dāwud Sulaimān Bābal, Jabrā'īl al-Shāᶜir, Mosul, 1945.

5. Jamīl Jabar, Mayy wa Jibrān, Beirut, Dār al-Makshūf, 1950.

6. Khalīl Ḥāwī, Khalil Gibran: His Background, Character and Works, Beirut, American U. of Beirut, 1963, 311 pp.

7. Mīkhā'īl Nuᶜayma, Khalil Gibran: A Biography, New York, Philosophical Library, 1950, 267 pp.

8. Mīkhā'īl Nuᶜayma, Jibrān Khalīl Jibrān, Ḥayātuhu, Mawtuhu, Adabuhu, Fannuhu, (5th printing), Beirut, Ṣadir, 1964, 325 pp.

9. Shukr Allāh ?al-Jarr?, Nabī ʾUrfalīs?, Brazil, al-Andalus al-Jadīda, 1939.

10. Muḥyī al-Dīn Riḍā, Fī Mawṭin Jibrān Khalīl Jibrān, Cairo, al-Tijārīya al-Ḥadītha, 1950, 192 pp.

11. Yūsuf al-Huwayyik, Dhikriyāt maᶜa Jibrān, Bārīs 1909-1910, Beirut, al-Aḥad, 1957, 222 pp.

MUṢṬAFĀ KĀMIL

Works by Author

1. Miṣr wa al-Iḥtilāl al-Inklīzī wa Majmūᶜat Aᶜmāl...Muddat ᶜĀmm Wāḥid, Māyū 1895 - Māyū 1896, Cairo, al-ᶜArab, 1895, 192 pp.

2. Safaḥāt Maṭwīya min Tārīkh al-Zaᶜīm Muṣṭafā Kāmil, Rasā'il Jadīda li-Muṣṭafā Kāmil min 8 Yūnyū 1895 ilā Fabrāyir 1896, Cairo, al-Anjlū al-Miṣrīya, 1962, 93 pp. (edited by Muḥammad Anīs)

3. Egyptian-French Letters Addressed to Madame Juliette Adam, 1895-1908, Cairo, The Moustafa Kamel School, 1909, 351 pp.

4. Al-Mas'ala al-Sharqīya, Cairo, al-Ādāb, 1898, 352 pp.

5. Al-Shams al-Mushriqa, Cairo, al-Liwā', 1904, 220 pp.

6. Difāᶜ ᶜan Bilādihi, al-Liwā', Cairo, 1906, 124 pp.

Book Studies on Author

1. ᶜAbd al-Laṭīf Ḥamza, Adab al-Maqāla al-Ṣuḥufīya fī Miṣr, V, Muṣṭafā Kāmil, Cairo, al-Jāmiᶜiyīn, 1952, 264 pp.

2. ᶜAbd al-Raḥmān al-Rāfiᶜī, Muṣṭafā Kāmil Bāshā, Bāᶜith al-Ḥaraka al-Waṭanīya, Cairo, 1939, 500 pp. (4th printing - Cairo, al-Nahḍa al-Miṣrīya, 528 pp. 1962)

3. Aḥmad Rashād, Muṣṭafā Kāmil, Ḥayātuhu wa Kifāḥuhu, Cairo, al-Saᶜāda, 1958, 307 pp.

4. ᶜAlī Fahmī Kāmil, Muṣṭafā Kāmil Bāshā fī 34 Rabīᶜan, Cairo, al-Liwā', 1908-1911. 3 volumes (9 parts)

5. Fatḥī Riḍwān, Muṣṭafā Kāmil.

6. Muḥammad Thābit Bandarī, Zaᶜīm al-Nahḍa, Muṣṭafā Kāmil, Cairo, al-Jāmiᶜa al-Miṣrīya al-Ḥadītha.

7. Muḥyī al-Dīn Riḍā, Abṭāl al-Waṭanīya; Muṣṭafā Kāmil, Muḥammad Farīd, Saᶜd Zaghlūl, Muṣṭafā Kamāl, al-Mahātmā Ghāndī, Cairo, Jarīdat al-Ṣabaḥ, 1923, 144 pp.

8. Muṣṭafā Kāmil Bāshā wa Aᶜmāluhu, Cairo, 1908, al-Hilāl.

GHASSĀN KANAFĀNĪ

Works by Author

1. Al-Adab al-Filasṭīnī al-Muqāwim min 1948 ilā 1968, Beirut, al-Dirāsāt al-Filasṭīnīya.
2. Adab al-Muqāwama fī Filasṭīn al-Muḥtalla, 1948-1966, Beirut, al-Ādāb, 1966, 144 pp.
3. ᶜĀ'id ilā Ḥayfā, Beirut, al-ᶜAwda, 1970, 91 pp. (novel)
4. ᶜĀlam Laysa Lanā, Beirut, al-Ṭalīᶜa (stories)
5. ᶜAn al-Rijāl wa al-Banādiq, Beirut, al-Ādāb, 1968, 140 pp. (stories)
6. Arḍ al-Burtuqāl al-Ḥazīn, Beirut, al-Fajr al-Jadīd, 1963, 127 pp. (stories
7. Al-Bāb, Beirut, al-Ṭalīᶜa (play)
8. Fī al-Adab al-Ṣahyūnī, Beirut, al-Taḥrīr al-Filasṭīnīya - Markaz al-Abḥāth, 1967, 160 pp.
9. Mā Tabaqqā Lakum, Beirut, al-Ṭalīᶜa, 1966, 79 pp. (novel)
10. Mawt Sarīr Raqm 12, Beirut, Munaymana, 205 pp. (stories)
11. Rijāl fī al-Shams, Beirut, al-Ṭalīᶜa, 1963, 106 pp. (novel)
12. Umm Saᶜd, Beirut, al-ᶜAwda, (stories)

ᶜABD AL-RAḤMĀN AL-KAWĀKIBĪ

Works by Author

1. Umm al-Qurā, Cairo, al-Taqaddum, 19--, 148 pp.
2. Ṭabā'iᶜ al-Istibdād wa Maṣāriᶜ al-Istiᶜbād, Cairo, al-Tawfīq, 184 pp.

Book Studies on Author

1. ᶜAbbās Maḥmūd al-ᶜAqqād, Al-Raḥḥāla "Kāf" ᶜAbd al-Raḥmān al-Kawākibī, Cairo, Al-Majlis al-Aᶜlā, 1959, 185 pp.
2. Ibrāhīm Rifᶜat, Al-Thā'ir al-ᶜArabī ᶜAbd al-Raḥmān al-Kawākibī, Cairo, al-Qawmīya, 1962?, 41 pp.
3. Majallat al-Ḥadīth, Sept.-Oct., 1952, (special issue about al-Kawākibī with contributions by various authors)
4. Muḥammad Aḥmad Khalaf Allāh, Al-Kawākibī, Ḥayātuhu wa Āthāruhu, Cairo, al-ᶜArab, 1956, 144 pp.
5. Norbert Tapiero, Les Idées Reformistes d'al-Kawakibi, Paris, Les Editions Arabes, 1956, 111 pp.
6. United Arab Republic, Mahrajān ᶜAbd al-Raḥmān al-Kawākibī, Cairo, Al-Majlis al-Aᶜlā, 1960, 183 pp.

ᶜABD AL-RAḤMĀN AL-KHAMĪSĪ

Works by Author

1. Aḥmad Kishkish, Cairo, Rūz al-Yūsuf, 1961, 134 pp. (short stories)
2. Alf Layla Jadīda, Cairo, Rūz al-Yūsuf, 196-, 257 pp.
3. Al-Aᶜmāq, Cairo, no date.
4. Ashwāq Insān, (poetry)
5. Dimāʾ Lā Tajiff, (stories)
6. Al-Fann Alladhī Nurīduhu, Cairo, Al-Miṣrīya, 1966, 182 pp.
7. Ḥasan wa Naᶜīma, (story written for radio presentation)
8. Lā Yā Ayzanhāwar (Eisenhower), (written jointly with Fatḥi Kāmil)
9. Lan Namūt, (stories)
10. ?Manākhūliyā?, (dialogues and opinions about art)
11. Al-Mukāfiḥūn, (series of biographies)
12. Qumṣān al-Dam, (stories)
13. Riyāḥ al-Nīrān, (stories)
14. Ṣayḥāt al-Shaᶜb, (stories)
15. Yawmīyāt Majnūn, (translated stories)

NAJĪB MAḤFŪẒ

Works by Author

1. ᶜAbath al-Aqdār, Cairo, Miṣr, 1967?, 257 pp.
2. Awlād Ḥāratinā, Beirut, al-Ādāb, 1967, 552 pp.
3. Bayn al-Qaṣrayn, Cairo, Miṣr, 1960?, 578 pp.
4. Bayt Sayyi' al-Sumᶜa, Cairo, Miṣr, 1965, 267 pp. (short stories)
5. Bidāya wa Nihāya, Cairo, Miṣr, 1965?, 382 pp.
6. Dunyā Allāh, Cairo, Miṣr, 1963, 261 pp. (short stories)
7. Hams al-Junūn, Cairo, Miṣr, 1967?, 317 pp.
8. Khān al-Khalīlī, (6th printing) Cairo, Miṣr, 1965, 275 pp.
9. Kifāḥ Ṭība, Cairo, Miṣr, 1965, 259 pp.
10. Al-Liṣṣ wa al-Kilāb, Cairo, Miṣr, 1961?, 175 pp.
11. Midaq Alley, Beirut, Khayats, 1966, 319 pp. (translated from the Arabic by Trevor Le Gassick)
12. Mīrāmār, Cairo, Miṣr, 1967, 279 pp.
13. Al-Qāhira al-Jadīda, Cairo, Miṣr, 1965, 214 pp.
14. Qaṣr al-Shawq, Cairo, Miṣr, 1957?, 464 pp.
15. Rādūbīs, Cairo, Miṣr, 1964, 218 pp.
16. Al-Sarāb, (5th printing), Cairo, Miṣr, 1967, 367 pp.
17. Al-Shaḥḥādh, Cairo, Miṣr, 1965, 191 pp.
18. Al-Sukkarīya, (4th printing), Cairo, Miṣr, 1962, 395 pp.
19. Al-Summān wa al-Kharīf, Cairo, Miṣr, 1962, 198 pp.
20. Taḥt al-Miẓalla, Cairo, Miṣr, 1967, 321 pp. (short stories and one-act
21. Al-Ṭarīq, Cairo, Miṣr, 1964, 185 pp.
22. Tharthara fawq al-Nīl, Cairo, Miṣr, 1965, 201 pp.
23. Zuqāq al-Midaqq, Cairo, Miṣr, 1966?, 313 pp.

2. (NAJĪB MAḤFŪẒ)

Book Studies on Author

1. Ghālī Shukrī, Al-Muntamī: Dirāsa fī Adab Najīb Maḥfūẓ, Cairo, al-Zanārī, 1964, 354 pp.

2. Al-Hilāl, Feb., 1970. (special issue about Najīb Maḥfūẓ)

3. Nabīl Rāghib, Qadīyat al-Shakl al-Fannī ʿind Najīb Maḥfūẓ: Dirāsa Taḥlīlīya li-Uṣūlihā al-Fikrīya wa al-Jamālīya, Cairo, al-Kātib al-ʿArabī, 1967, 315 pp.

MUṢṬAFĀ AL-MANFALŪṬĪ

Works by Author

1. Al-ᶜAbarāt, Cairo, 1915, 159 pp. (2nd printing - Cairo, al-Tijārīya al-Kubrā, 1965, 159 pp.)

2. Al-Adabiyāt al-ᶜAṣrīya, Cairo, Muḥammad ᶜAṭīya, 143 pp. (articles written by author and collected by Muḥammad Zakī al-Dīn)

3. Al-Faḍīla aw Paul wa Virginie (translation of Paul et Virginie by Bernardine de St. Pierre)

4. Fī Sabīl al-Tāj, Damascus, Muḥammad ?al-Mahāyinī?, 1955, 80 pp. (1st printing - Cairo, 1922, 116 pp.) (translation of Pour La Couronne by François Coppée)

5. Al-Intiqām, Cairo, 1923, 32 pp. (translation of La Vengeance)

6. Kalimāt al-Manfalūṭī, Damascus, al-Ḥaḍāra, 1955, 88 pp. (edited by Riyāḍ al-Ḥalabī)

7. Mājdūlīn aw taḥt Ẓilāl al-Zayzafūn, Damascus, Karam, 1955, 159 pp. (translation of Sous Le Tilleul by Alphonse Karr)

8. Mukhtārāt al-Manfalūṭī, Cairo, al-Istiqāma, 1937, 286 pp. (4th printing - Cairo, al-Tijārīya al-Kubrā)

9. Al-Naẓarāt, Cairo, al-Tijārīya al-Kubrā, 1963, 3 volumes (1st printing - Cairo, al-Hilāl, 1920-1927)

10. Al-Shāᶜir aw Cyrano de Bergerac, (translation of Cyrano de Bergerac by Edmond Rostand)

Book Studies on Author

1. Al-Manāhil, Beirut, Ṣādir, Nos. 31-32.

2. Muḥammad Zakī al-Dīn, Al-Manfalūṭī, Ḥayātuhu wa Aqwāl al-Kuttāb wa al-Shuᶜarā' fīhi, Cairo, Muḥammad ᶜAṭīya, 1942, 150 pp.

IBRĀHĪM AL-MĀZINĪ

Works by Author

1. Aḥādīth al-Māzinī, bi-Munāsabat Dhikrā Wafātihi, Cairo, 1961, 200 pp.
2. ᶜAl-Māshī, Cairo, Miṣr wa Maṭabaᶜatuhā, 109 pp. (collection of stories)
3. Aqāṣīṣ, (written together with Ibrāhīm al-Miṣrī, Salāḥ al-Dīn ?Dhihnī?, Muḥammad Fatḥī Abū al-Faḍl and Maḥmūd Taymūr), Cairo, Miṣr, 1944, 136 pp.
4. ᶜAwd ᶜalā Bad' wa Ḥukm al-Ṭāᶜa, (latest printing) Cairo, al-Qawmīya, 1963, 152 pp.
5. Bashshār bin Burd, Cairo, Iḥyā' al-Kutub al-ᶜArabīya, 1944, 133 pp. (in the series Aᶜlām al-Islām)
6. Dīwān al-Māzinī, (introduction by ᶜAbbās Maḥmūd al-ᶜAqqād), Cairo, (1st volume), al-Busfūr, 1913, (2nd volume) 1917.
7. Al-Dīwān, (together with ᶜAbbās Maḥmūd al-ᶜAqqād), Cairo.
8. Dīwān al-Māzinī, (edited by Maḥmūd ᶜImād), Cairo, 1961, 286 pp.
9. Fī al-Ṭarīq, Cairo, al-Nahḍa al-Miṣrīya, 1937, 415 pp.
10. Gharīzat al-Mar'a aw Ḥukm al-Ṭāᶜa, Cairo, Jarīdat al-Ṣabāḥ, 80 pp.
11. Ḥiṣād al-Hashīm, Cairo, al-ᶜAṣrīya, 1925, 431 pp.
12. Ibrāhīm al-Kātib, Cairo, Dār al-Taraqqī, 1931, 374 pp.
13. Ibrāhīm al-Thānī, Cairo, al-Maᶜārif, 1943, 221 pp.
14. Khuyūṭ al-ᶜAnkabūt, Cairo, ᶜĪsā al-Bābī al-Ḥalabī, 1935, 456 pp.
15. Mīdū wa Shurakāhu, Cairo, al-Nahār, 1943, 168 pp.
16. Min al-Nāfidha wa Ṣuwar min al-Ḥayāṭ, Cairo, al-Qawmīya, 1961, 158 pp.
17. Mukhtārāt min Adab al-Māzinī, Cairo, al-Qawmīya, 1961, 226 pp.
18. Qabḍ al-Rīḥ, Cairo, al-ᶜAṣrīya, 1927, 222 pp. (contains about 20 essays)
19. Riḥlat al-Ḥijāz, Cairo, Fu'ād, 1929, 166 pp.
20. Sundūq al-Dunyā, Cairo, al-Taraqqī, 1929, 320 pp. (later printing - Al-Qawmīya, 1960, 182 pp.)
21. Al-Shārida, Cairo, (story by John Galsworthy translated by author into Arabic)
22. Al-Shiᶜr, Ghāyātuhu wa Wasā'iṭuhu, Cairo, al-Busfūr, 1915, 44 pp.
23. Shiᶜr Ḥāfiẓ, Cairo, al-Busfūr, 1915, 60 pp.

2. (IBRĀHĪM AL-MĀZINĪ)

Works by Author (cont'd)

24. Al-Siyāsa al-Miṣrīya wa al-Inqilāb al-Dustūrī, (together with Muḥammad Ḥusayn Haykal, and Muḥammad ᶜAbdullah ᶜInān), Cairo, al-Siyāsīya, 1931, 136 pp.

25. Thalāthat Rijāl wa Imra'a, Cairo, Miṣr, 1943, 161 pp.

Studies on Author

1. Muḥammad Mandūr, Ibrāhīm al-Māzinī, Cairo, Arab League, Maᶜhad al-Dirāsāt al-ᶜArabīya al-ᶜĀliya, 1954, 47 pp. (series of lectures)

2. Muṣṭafā Nāṣif, Ramz al-Ṭifl, Dirāsa fī Adab al-Māzinī, Cairo, al-Qawmīya, 1965, 328 pp.

3. Niᶜmāt Aḥmad Fu'ād, Al-Māzinī al-Nāthir, Cairo, 1951 (MA thesis from U. of Cairo, published in Cairo in 1954).

4. Niᶜmāt Aḥmad Fu'ād, Adab al-Māzinī, Cairo, Al-Khānjī, 1961, 366 pp. (2nd printing)

IBRĀHĪM AL-MIṢRĪ

Works by Author

1. Al-Adab al-Ḥadīth.
2. Al-Adab al-Ḥayy, Cairo, al-ᶜUsūr, 1930, 251 pp.
3. ᶜĀlam al-Gharā'iz wa al-Aḥlām, Cairo, 1962, 159 pp. (short stories)
4. Al-Bāb al-Dhahabī, Majmūᶜa min Qiṣaṣ al-Wijdān wa al-ᶜĀṭifa, Cairo, al-Qawmīya, 1963?, 190 pp.
5. Al-Fikr wa aI-ᶜĀlam.
6. Al-Ḥubb ᶜind Shahīrāt al-Nisā', Cairo, al-Hilāl, 196-, 218 pp.
7. Al-Insān wa al-Qadar, Cairo, Rūz al-Yūsuf, 162 pp.
8. Ka's al-Ḥayāt, Majmūᶜat Qiṣaṣ Taḥlīlī, Cairo, al-Qawmīya.
9. Khālidūn fī al-Waṭan, Cairo, al-Maᶜārif, 1966, 158 pp.
10. Qalb ᶜAdhrā', Cairo, al-Maᶜārif, 1962, 128 pp.
11. Qulūb al-Khālidīn, Cairo, al-Maᶜārif, 144 pp.
12. Ṣawt al-Jīl.
13. Ṣirāᶜ al-Rūḥ wa al-Jasad, Cairo, Rūz al-Yūsuf, 1961, 159 pp.
14. Ṣirāᶜ maᶜa al-Mādī, Majmūᶜa min Qiṣaṣ al-Wijdān wa al-ᶜĀṭifa, Cairo, al-Kātib al-ᶜArabī, 1967, 238 pp.
15. Suwar min al-Insān, Majmūᶜat Qiṣaṣ Taḥlīlī, Cairo, al-Qawmīya, 1965, 227 pp.
16. Tārīkh al-Ḥubb wa Rasā'iluhu al-Khālida, Cairo, al-Hilāl, 1963, 202 pp.
17. Al-Unthā al-Khālida, Majmūᶜa min al-Qiṣaṣ al-Taḥlīlīya, Cairo, al-Hanā, 156 pp.
18. Waḥy al-ᶜAṣr, Cairo, al-Hilāl, no date, 207 pp.

ᶜALĪ MUBARĀK BĀSHĀ

Works by Author

1. ᶜAlam al-Dīn, Alexandria, Jarīdat al-Maḥrūsa, 1882, 4v., 1490 pp.
2. Al-Khuṭaṭ al-Tawfīqīya al-Jadīda li-Miṣr, Cairo, al-Kubrā, 1888, 20 v.
3. Ḥaqā'iq al-Akhbār fī Awṣāf al-Biḥār,
4. Khawāṣṣ al-Aᶜdād.
5. Nakhbat al-Fikr fī Nīl Miṣr.
6. Tadhkirat al-Muhandisīn.
7. Taqrīb al-Handasa.
8. Jughrāfiyat Miṣr.
9. Al-Mīzān fī al-Aqyisa wa al-Makāyīl wa al-Awzān.
10. Khulāṣat Tārīkh al-ᶜArab, (supervision of translation of this work by the French Orientalist Louis Pierre Sedillot into Arabic).

Book Studies on Author

1. Husayn Fawzī al-Najjār, ᶜAlī Mubārak, Cairo, al-Kātib al-ᶜArabi, 1967, 199 pp.
2. Mahmūd al-Sharqāwī, ᶜAlī Mubārak, Ḥayātuhu wa Daᶜwatuhu wa Āthāruhu, Cairo, al-Anjlū al-Miṣrīya, 1962, 226 pp.
3. Muḥammad ᶜAbd al-Karīm, ᶜAlī Mubārak, Ḥayātuhu wa Ma'āthiruhu, Cairo, al-Risāla, 196-, 134 pp.

SALĀMA MŪSĀ

Works by Author

1. Al-Adab lil-Shaᶜb, Cairo, al-Anjlū al-Miṣrīya, 1956, 216 pp. later printing - Cairo, al-Khānjī, 1961, 207 pp.
2. Aḥādīth ilā al-Shabāb, (2nd printing), Cairo, Salāma Mūsā, 1963, 206 pp.
3. ᶜAqlī wa ᶜAqluka, (2nd printing), Cairo, al-Khānjī, 1964, 327 pp.
4. Asrār al-Nafs, (4th printing), Cairo, Salāma Mūsā, 1964, 162 pp.
5. Al-Balāgha al-ᶜAṣrīya wa al-Lugha al-ᶜArabīya, (4th printing), Cairo, Salāma Mūsā, 1964, 190 pp.
6. The Education of Salama Musa, Leiden, E.J. Brill, 1961, 267 pp. (translation by L.O. Shuman of Tarbiyat Salāma Mūsā)
7. Fī al-Ḥubb wa al-Ḥayāt, Beirut, al-Maᶜārif, 196-, 256 pp.
8. Fī al-Ḥayāt wa al-Adab, (4th printing), Cairo, Salāma Mūsā, 1961, 179 pp.
9. Ghāndī wa al-Ḥaraka al-Hindīya, (2nd printing), Cairo, Salāma Mūsā, 1962, 139 pp.
10. Hā'ulā' ᶜAllamūnī, (3rd printing), Cairo, Salāma Mūsā, 1965, 280 pp.
11. Ḥarakat al-Fikr wa Abṭāluhā fī al-Tārīkh, (3rd printing), Beirut, al-ᶜIlm lil-Malāyīn, 1961, 223 pp.
12. Al-Ishtirākīya, (2nd printing), Cairo, Salāma Mūsā, 1962, 30 pp.
13. Judhūr al-Istirākīya, Beirut, Dar al-Ṭalīᶜa, 1964, 208 pp. (by Salāma Mūsā and Niqūla Ḥaddād).
14. Mā Hiya al-Naḥda, (1st printing), Beirut, al-Maᶜārif, 1962, 144 pp.
15. Maqālāt Mamnūᶜa, (2nd printing), Cairo, Salāma Mūsā, 1963, 185 pp.
16. Al-Mar'a Laysat Luᶜbat al-Rajul, Cairo, Salāma Mūsā, 196-, 141 pp.
17. Mashāᶜil al-Ṭarīq lil-Shabāb, (2nd printing), Beirut, Dar al-ᶜIlm, 1962, 159 pp.
18. Muḥāwalāt, (2nd printing), Cairo, al-Khānjī, 1963, 239 pp.
19. Mukhtārāt Salāma Mūsā, (2nd printing), Beirut, al-Maᶜārif, 1963, 325 pp. (essays)
20. Al-Shakhṣīyāt al-Nājiᶜa, (5th printing), Cairo, Salāma Mūsā, 1965, 212 pp.
21. Al-Ṣiḥāfa ... Ḥirfa wa Risāla, (1st printing), Cairo, Salāma Mūsā, 1963, 123 pp.

2. (SALĀMA MŪSĀ)

Works by Author (cont'd)

22. Tarbiyat Salāma Mūsā, Cairo, al-Khānjī, 1962, 304 pp.
23. Ṭarīq al-Majd lil-Shabāb, (4th printing), Cairo, al-Khānjī, 1964, 231 pp.
24. Al-Tathqīf al-Dhātī aw Kayfa Nurabbī Anfusanā, (6th printing), Cairo, al-Khānjī, 1964, 258 pp.

Additional Works by Author

1. Muqaddimat al-?Subarmān?, Dār al-Hilāl, 1910.
2. Nushu' Fikrat Allah, al-Akhbār, 1912.
3. Al-Jarīma wa al-ᶜIqāb li-Dostoyevsky, (translation), Jirjis Fīlūthā'us, 1913.
4. Al-Mustaqbal, (weekly, 16 issues appeared), al-Shaykh Yūsuf al-Khāzin, 1914.
5. Ashhar al-Khuṭub wa Mashāhīr al-Khuṭabā', al-Hilāl, 1924.
6. Ashhar Qiṣaṣ al-Ḥubb al-Tārīkhīya, al-Hilāl, 1925.
7. Aḥlām al-Falsafa, al-Hilāl, 1926.
8. Ḥurrīyat al-Fikr wa Tārīkh Abṭālihā, al-Hilāl, 1927.
9. Al-ᶜAql al-Baṭin, al-Hilāl, 1927.
10. Tārīkh al-Funūn wa Ashhar al-Ṣuwar, al-Hilāl, 1927.
11. Al-Yawm wa al-Ghad, al-ᶜAṣrīya, 1928.
12. Naẓarīyat al-Taṭawwur wa Aṣl al-Insān, al-ᶜAṣrīya, 1928.
13. Al-Majalla al-Jadīda, (monthly and weekly, 1929-30, 1931-32), al-Majalla al-Jadīda.
14. Al-Miṣrī (and other weeklies from 1930 to 1933), al-Majalla al-Jadīda.
15. Qiṣaṣ Mukhtalifa, al-Majalla al-Jadīda, 1930.
16. Al-Dunyā baᶜd 30 ᶜAm, al-Majalla al-Jadīda, 1930.
17. Dabṭ al-Tanāsul wa Manᶜ al-Ḥaml, al-Majalla al-Jadīda, 1930. (written jointly with Dr. Kamil Labīb)
18. Juyūbunā wa Juyūb al-Ajānib, al-Majalla al-Jadīda, 1931.
19. Al-Sīkulūjiya fī Ḥayatina al-Yawmīya, al-Majalla al-Jadīda, 1934.
20. Al-Nahḍa al-Urubbīya, al-Majalla al-Jadīda, 1935.
21. Miṣr Aṣl al-Ḥaḍara, al-Majalla al-Jadīda, 1935.
22. Al-Tajdīd fī al-Adab al-Inklīzī al-Ḥadīth, al-Majalla al-Jadīda, 1936.
23. Kayfa Nasus Ḥayatanā baᶜd al-Khamsīn, al-ᶜAṣrīya, 1945.
24. Ḥurrīyat al-ᶜAql fī Miṣr, al-Fajr al-Jadīd, 1945.
25. Al-Adab al-Inklīzī al-Ḥadīth, al-ᶜAṣriya, 1948.
26. Al-Ḥubb fī al-Tārīkh, Kutub lil-Jamīᶜ, 1949.
27. Fī al-Ḥayat, al-Anjlū al-Miṣrīya, 1947.
28. Kitāb al-Thawrāt, al-ᶜIlm lil-Malāyīn, 1954.
29. Al-Adab wa al-Ḥayāt, al-Nashr al-Miṣrīya, 1956.
30. Dirasat Sīkulūjīya, al-ᶜArabīya, 1956.
31. Bernard Shaw (in Arabic), al-Khānjī, 1957.
32. Intiṣārat Insān, al-Khānjī, 1960.
33. Al-Insān Qimmat al-Taṭawwur, Salāma Mūsā, 1961.
34. Iftaḥū lahā al-Bāb, Salāma Mūsā, 1962.

Book Studies on Author

1. Hinrī Riyād, Salāma Mūsā wa al-Manhaj al-Istirākī, Beirut, al-Thaqāfa, 196-, 103 pp.

3. (SALĀMA MŪSĀ)

Book Studies on Author (cont'd)

2. Mahmūd al-Sharqāwī, Salāma Mūsā al-Mufakkir wa al-Insān, Beirut, al-ʿIlm, 1965, 242 pp.

3. Ghālī Shukrī, Salāma Mūsā wa Azmat al-Ḍamīr al-ʿArabī, Cairo, al-Khānjī, 1962, 341 pp.

MUḤAMMAD IBRĀHĪM AL-MUWAYLIḤĪ

Works by Author

1. Ḥadīth ʿĪsā bin Hishām, aw Fatra min al-Zamān, Cairo, al-Qawmīya, 1964, 257 pp.

2. ʿIlāj al-Nafs, Cairo, al-Qawmīya, 1962, 121 pp.

Studies on Author

1. Allen, Roger, "Ḥadīth ʿIsā Ibn Hishām: The Excluded Passages", Die Welt des Islams, N.S. XII, Nr. 3, pp. 74-89, and Nr. 4, pp.11-163-181. (Latter, p. 180-181 provides also a selected bibliography of studies in article and chapter forms)

2. Allen, Roger, "Ḥadīth ʿIsā Ibn Hishām - A Reconsideration", Journal of Arabic Literature, Vol. 1, no. 1, pp. 88-108, Leiden, 1970.

ᶜABD ALLĀH AL-NADĪM

Works by Author

1. Kān wa Yakūn.
2. Al-Masāmīr.
3. Al-Mutarādifāt.
4. Al-Niḥla wa al-Riḥla.
5. Al-Sāq ᶜalā al-Sāq fī Mukābadat al-Mashāqq.
6. Al-Waṭan.
7. 2 diwans of poetry.
8. Al-ᶜArab.
9. Sulāfat al-Nadīm fī Muntakhabāṭ ᶜAbdullāh al-Nadīm, Cairo, al-Jāmiᶜa, 1897, 132 pp. (collected by author's brother ᶜAbd al-Fattāḥ al-Nadīm).
10. Same as above, 2nd printing, Cairo, al-Hindīya, 1914.

Studies on Author

1. ᶜAbdullāh al-Nadīm, Khatīb al-Waṭanīya: ᶜAlī al-Ḥadīdī, Cairo, al-Miṣrīya, 196-, 399 pp.
2. ᶜAbd Allāh al-Nadīm, Muḥammad ᶜAbd al-Wahhāb Ṣaqar and Fawzī Sa'īd Shahīn. Cairo, no date.
3. ᶜAbdullāh al-Nadīm baina al-Fuṣhā wa al-ᶜĀmmīya, Naffūsa Zakarīya Sa'īd, Alexandria, al-Qawmīya, 1966, 234 pp.

ʿĪSĀ AL-NĀʿŪRĪ

Works by Author

1. Adab al-Mahjar, Cairo, al-Maʿārif, 1959, 628 pp. (2nd printing - 1967, 630 pp.)
2. ʿĀʾid ilā al-Maydān, Aleppo, al-Rāʾid, 1961, 162 pp. (stories)
3. Akhī al-Insān, Aleppo, al-Rāʾid, 1962, 117 pp. (poetry)
4. Anāshīdī, Ḥamā (Syria), al-Rāʾid al-ʿArabī, 1955. (poetry)
5. Aqāṣīṣ Urdunnīya, Tūnis, al-Tūnisīya, 1967, 137 pp.
6. The Arab Contemporary Literature in the Hashemite Kingdom of Jordon, Malta, the Faculty of Arts of Malta University.
7. Aṭfāl wa ʿAjāʾiz, Beirut, al-Maʿārif, 1961. (short stories translated from Italian).
8. Bayt warāʾ al-Ḥudūd, Beirut, ʿUwaydāt, 1959, 92 pp.
9. Buṭūlāt ʿArabīya min Filasṭīn, Amman, al-Istiqlal, 1955.
10. The Contemporary Poetry in Jordan and the Great Poet Mustafa Wahbi Tell, Naples, Instituto Universitario Orientale Napoli.
11. ?Fūntamārā?, Beirut, al-Ṭalīʿa, 1963, (novel translated from Italian).
12. Īlīyā Abū Mādī, Rasūl al-Shiʿr al-ʿArabī al-Ḥadīth, (study) Amman, Dar al-Ṭibaʿa wa al-Nashr, 1951, (2nd printing, Beirut, Manshūrāt ʿUwaydāt, 1958)
13. Ilyās Farḥāt, Shāʿir al-ʿUrūba fī al-Mahjar, Amman, al-Tawzīʿ, 1956,
14. Jirāḥ Jadīda, Beirut, Majallat Siyāḥa, 1967, 125 pp.
15. Khallī al-Sayf Yaqūl, Jerusalem, al-Andalus, 1956.
16. Māris Yaḥriq Muʿaddātihi, Cairo, al-Maʿārif, 1955. (short novel)
17. Maʾsāt al-Insān, Beirut, ʿUwaydāt, 1969. (a poetic tragedy translated from Hungarian)
18. Min al-Qaṣaṣ al-ʿĀlamī, Amman, al-Waṭanīya, 1969, 233 pp.
19. Naẓra Ijmālīya fī al-Adab al-Mahjarī, Amman, al-Istiqlāl, 1970, 64 pp.
20. Ṭarīq al-Shawk, Amman, al-Istiqlāl, 1955. (stories)
21. Udabāʾ min al-Sharq wa al-Gharb, Beirut, ʿUwaydāt, 1966, 167 pp.
22. Versi di Fuoco e di Sangue, Rome, Edizione EAST di A. e P. Fanelli, 1970, 84 pp. (author's translation into Italian of various works by Arab "resistance poets")

MĪKHĀ'ĪL NUᶜAIMA

1. Al-Ābā' wa al-Banūn, (play in 4 acts) (5th printing) Beirut, Ṣādir, 1967, 143 pp.
2. Abᶜad min Mūskū wa min Wāshinṭun, (3rd printing) Beirut, Ṣādir, 1966, 205 pp.
3. Abū Baṭṭa, (3rd printing) Beirut, Ṣādir, 1966, 204 pp.
4. Akābir, (3rd printing), Beirut, Ṣādir, 1966, 123 pp.
5. Al-Awthān, (5th printing), Beirut, Ṣādir, 1966, 61 pp.
6. Ayyūb, (play in 4 acts), Beirut, Ṣādir, 1967, 121 pp.
7. Al-Bayādir, 1940-1944, (5th printing), Beirut, Ṣādir, 1963, 245 pp.
8. The Book of Mirdad, Beirut, 1948 (2nd printing, Bombay, 1954; 3rd printing, London, 1962. Arabic edition, translated by author, Beirut, 1952).
9. Durūb, (4th printing), Beirut, Ṣādir, 1966, 198 pp.
10. Fī Mahabb al-Rīḥ, (4th printing), Beirut, Ṣādir, 1966, 181 pp.
11. Al-Ghirbāl, (5th printing), Cairo, al-Maᶜārif, 1957, 211 pp.
12. Hams al-Jufūn, (5th printing), Beirut, Ṣādir, 1966, 147 pp. (later printing - 1968)
13. Hawāmish, Beirut, Ṣādir, 1965, 286 pp.
14. Jibrān Khalīl Jibrān, Ḥayātuhu Mawtuhu Adabuhu Fannuhu, (3rd printing), Beirut, Ṣādir, 1951, 359 pp.
15. Khalil Gibran: A Biography, New York, Philosophical Library, 1950, 267 pp.
16. Kān Mā Kān, (3rd printing), Beirut, Ṣādir, 1949, 135 pp. (later printing) 1966, 125 pp.
17. Karm ᶜalā Darb, (4th printing), Beirut, Ṣādir, 1964, 118 pp.
18. Liqā', (5th printing), Beirut, Ṣādir, 1964, 115 pp.
19. Al-Marāḥil, Siyāḥāt fī Zawāhir al-Ḥayāt wa Bawāṭinihā, (4th printing), Beirut, Ṣādir, 1960, 142 pp.
20. Memoirs of a Vagrant Soul.
21. Kitāb Mirdād, Manāra wa Mīnā', Beirut, Sadir, 1963, 334 pp. (written by author in English and then translated by author into Arabic)
22. Mudhakkirāt al-Arqash, (3rd printing), Beirut, Ṣādir, 1962, 139 pp.

2. (MĪKHĀ'ĪL NU^{C}AIMA)

Works by Author (cont'd)

23. Mukhtārāt min Mīkhā'īl Nu^{c}ayma, Beirut, Ṣādir, 194-, 119 pp.

24. Al-Nūr wa al-Dayjūr, (4th printing), Beirut, Ṣādir, 1966, 224 pp.

25. Sab^{c}ūn ... Hikāyat ^{c}Umr, 1889-1959, Beirut, Ṣādir, 1962-1966, 3 volumes, (later printing - 1964-1967)

26. Ṣawt al-^{c}Ālam, (4th printing), Beirut, Ṣādir, 1966, 206 pp.

27. Till We Meet...

28. Al-Yawm al-Akhīr, Beirut, Ṣādir, 1963, 292 pp. (later printing - 1967, 290 pp.)

29. Zād al-Ma^{c}ād, (4th printing), Beirut, Ṣādir, 1966, 149 pp.

30. Al-Majmū^{c}a al-Kāmila li-Mu'allafāt Jibrān Khalīl Jibrān, (edited by Mīkha'īl Nu^{c}ayma), Beirut, Ṣādir, 1961, 610 pp.

31. Jibrān Khalīl Jibrān, Beirut, 1964.

Works about Author

1. Nadeem Naimy, Mikhail Naimy: An Introduction, Beirut, American U. of Beirut, 1967.

2. Thurayyā Malḥas, Mīkhā'īl Nu^{c}aima al-Adīb al-Ṣūfī, Beirut, Ṣādir, 1964, 203 pp.

3. Yūḥannā al-Khūrī, Radd ^{c}Alā Mīkhā'īl Nu^{c}aima fī Mirdād, Ṣaydā, al-Mukhliṣīya?, 1956, 213 pp.

IḤSĀN ᶜABD AL-QUDDŪS

Works by Author

1. Anā Ḥurra, (3rd printing), Beirut, al-Maᶜārif, 1958, 194 pp.
2. Anf wa Thalāth ᶜUyūn, Ṣaydā, al-ᶜAṣrīya, 1966?, 2 volumes.
3. Ayna ᶜUmrī, Cairo, al-Hilāl, 1967, 223 pp.
4. ᶜAqlī wa Qalbī, Beirut, al-Maᶜārif, 1959, 317 pp.
5. Al-Banāt wa al-Ṣayf, Beirut, al-Maᶜārif, 1959, 340 pp. (later printing - Cairo, al-Hilāl, 1966, 271 pp.)
6. Bint al-Sulṭān, Cairo, Miṣr, 1964, 415 pp.
7. Bi'r al-Ḥirmān, Beirut, al-Nashr al-Ḥadīth, 1962, 303 pp.
8. Fī Baytinā Rajul, Beirut, al-ᶜArabīya, 1957, 604 pp. (later printing - Beirut, al-Maᶜārif, 1962, 626 pp.)
9. Al-Khayṭ al-Rafīᶜ, (3rd printing), Cairo, Rūz al-Yūsuf, 1961, 242 pp.
10. Lā Anām, (3rd printing), Cairo, al-ᶜArabīya, 1958, 546 pp. (later printing - Cairo, al-Hilāl, 1966, 335 pp.)
11. Lā...Laysa Jasadaki! Beirut, al-Tijārī, 1962, 464 pp.
12. Lā Shay' Yahumm, Cairo, Miṣr, 1963?, 727 pp.
13. Lā Tuṭfi' al-Shams, Cairo, Rūz al-Yūsuf, 1960.
14. Muntahā al-Ḥubb, Cairo, Rūz al-Yūsuf, 1960?, 162 pp.
15. Al-Naẓẓārat al-Sawdā', Cairo, al-Hilāl, 1956?, 191 pp. (later printing - 1966)
16. Al-Nisā' Lahunna Asnān Baydā', Cairo, Akhbār al-Yawm, 1969, 114 pp.
17. Sāniᶜ al-Ḥubb, Bā'iᶜ al-Ḥubb, (2nd printing), Beirut, al-Maᶜārif, 1958, 349 pp.
18. Sayyida fī Khidmatika, Cairo, al-Maᶜārif, 196-?, 258 pp.
19. Shafatāhu, Beirut, al-Nashr al-Ḥadīth, 1961, 455 pp. (later printing - al-Hilāl, 1967, 295 pp.
20. Shay' fī Ṣadrī, Beirut, al-Maᶜārif, 1958, 743 pp.
21. Al-Ṭarīq al-Masdūd, Cairo, al-Hilāl, 1967, 271 pp.
22. Thuqūb fī al-Thawb al-Aswad, Cairo, Miṣr, 1962, 269 pp.
23. Al-Wisāda al-Khāliya, Cairo, al-Hilāl, 1967, 167 pp.
24. Zawjat Aḥmad, Beirut, al-Maᶜārif, 1961, 256 pp.

YAᶜQŪB RŪFĀʾĪL ṢANNŪᶜ

Works by Author

1. Ānisa ᶜalā al-Mūḍa. (play)
2. Al-Akhawāt al-Lātīnīyāt, Paris, 1905.
3. Al-Barbarī, (play)
4. Al-Būrṣa. (play)
5. Al-Ḍarratān. (play)
6. Fāṭima. (3-act comedy, originally in Italian)
7. Ghandūr Miṣr. (play)
8. Ghazwat Rās Tūr. (play which makes fun of people who bet)
9. Ghināʾīya bil-Lugha al-ᶜĀmmīya. (one act, contains contemporary songs)
10. Al-Ḥashshāsh. (play)
11. Ḥusn al-Ishāra fī Masāmarāt Abī al-Naẓẓāra, 1910.
12. Ḥulwān wa al-ᶜAlīl wa al-Amīra al-Iskandarānīya.
13. Moliere Miṣr wa Mā Yuqāsīhi, Beirut, al-Adabīya, 1912. (comedy about author's sufferings while establishing the Egyptian stage)
14. Rāstūr wa Shaykh al-Balad. (play)
15. Al-Ṣadāqa. (play)
16. Al-Salāsil al-Muḥaṭṭama, 1911. (Ottoman nationalist play)
17. Shaykh al-Balad. (play)
18. Al-Waṭan wa al-Ḥurrīya. (play)
19. Zawjat al-Ab. (play in which author attacks middle-aged men who marry young girls).
20. Zayda. (play in which author criticizes Eastern women who imitate Western women)

Magazines Published by Author

1. Abū Naẓẓāra Zarqā.
2. Riḥlat Abī Naẓẓāra Zarqā al-Walī.
3. Al-Naẓẓārāt al-ᶜAṣrīya.
4. Abū Ṣaffāra.

2. (YA^{c}QŪB RŪFĀ'ĪL ṢANNŪ^{c})

Magazines Published by Author (cont'd)

5. Abū Zammāra.
6. Al-Ḥāwī.
7. Abū Naẓẓāra Lisān Ḥāl al-Umma al-Miṣrīya al-Ḥurra.
8. Abū Naẓra Zarqā.
9. Al-Waṭan al-Miṣrī.
10. Abū Naẓẓāra Miṣr lil-Miṣrīyīn.
11. Jarīdat al-Tawaddud.
12. Jarīdat al-Munṣif.
13. Jarīdat al-^{c}Ālam al-Islāmī. (in French)

Book Studies on Author

1. ^{c}Abd al-Ḥamīd Ghunaym, Ṣannū^{c} Rā'id al-Masraḥ al-Miṣrī, al-Qawmīya, 1966, 217 pp.

2. Ḥikmat Sharīf, Al-Kawākib al-Sayyāra fī Tarjamat Ḥāl al-Shaykh Abī Naẓẓāra al-Miṣrī al-Waṭanī.

3. Ibrāhīm ^{c}Abduh, Abū Naẓẓāra Imām al-Ṣiḥāfa al-Fukāhīya al-Muṣawwara wa Za^{c}īm al-Masraḥ fī Miṣr, Cairo, al-Ādab, 1953, 313 pp.

4. Irene L. Gendzier, The Practical Visions of Ya^{c}qūb Ṣannū^{c}, Harvard U. Press, Cambridge, 1966, 175 pp.

5. Muḥammad Yūsuf Najm, Al-Masraḥ al-^{c}Arabī, Dirāsāt wa Nuṣūṣ, Beirut, al-Thaqāfa, 1961.

AḤMAD LUṬFĪ AL-SAYYID

Works by Author

1. Mabādi' fī al-Siyāsa wa al-Adab wa al-Ijtimāᶜ, Cairo, al-Hilāl, 1963, 233 pp.
2. ᶜIlm al-Ṭabīᶜa li-Arisṭūṭālīs, Cairo, Dār al-Kutub al-Miṣrīya, 1935, (translated from French)
3. Qiṣṣat Ḥayātī, Cairo, al-Hilāl, 196-, 215 pp.
4. Ṣafaḥāt Maṭwīya min Tārīkh al-Ḥaraka al-Istiqlālīya fī Miṣr min Māris Sanat 1907 ilā Māris Sanat 1909, ᶜAṣr al-Inqilāb al-Fikrī fī al-Siyasa al-Waṭanīya, Cairo, 1946, 280 pp.
5. Ta'ammulāt fī al-Falsafa wa al-Adab wa al-Siyāsa wa al-Ijtimāᶜ, Cairo, al-Maᶜārif, 1965, 139 pp.

Book Studies on Author

1. Ḥusayn Fawzī al-Najjār, Aḥmad Luṭfī al-Sayyid, Ustādh al-Jīl, Cairo, al-Miṣrīya, 1965, 301 pp.
2. Ḥusayn Fawzī al-Najjār, Luṭfī al-Sayyid wa al-Shakhṣīya al-Miṣrīya, Cairo, al-Qāhira al-Ḥadītha, 1963, 159 pp.

ᶜABD AL-RAḤMĀN AL-SHARQĀWĪ

Works by Author

1. Al-Arḍ, (3rd printing), Cairo, al-Kātib al-ᶜArabī, 1968, 308 pp.
2. Egyptian Earth, London, Heinemann, 1962, 250 pp. (translation by Desmond Stewart of Al-Arḍ).
3. Bāndūnj (Bandoeng) wa al-Salām al-ᶜĀlamī, al-Fikr, 1955?, 84 pp.
4. Al-Fallāḥ, Cairo, al-Kutub, 1968, 297 pp.
5. Al-Fatā Mahrān, Cairo, al-Qawmīya, 1966, 242 pp.
6. Ma'sāt Jamīla, aw Ma'sāt Jazā'irīya, Cairo, al-Maᶜārif, 1962, 269 pp.
7. Muḥammad, Rasūl al-Ḥurrīya, Cairo, al-Kutub, 1962, 400 pp. (later printing -al-Hilāl, 1965, 354 pp.)
8. Qulūb Khāliya, Cairo, al-Qawmīya, 1965, 176 pp.
9. al-Shawāriᶜ al-Khalfīya, Cairo, al-Kitāb al-ᶜArabī, 1958, 591 pp.
10. Waṭanī ᶜAkkā, Cairo, al-Shurūq, 1970, 191 pp. (drama)

YŪSUF AL-SHĀRŪNĪ

Works by Author

1. Dirāsāt Adabīya, Cairo, al-Nahḍa al-Miṣrīya, 1964, 257 pp.
2. Dirāsāt fī al-Adab al-ᶜArabī al-Muᶜāṣir, Cairo, al-Miṣrīya al-ᶜĀmma, 1964, 267 pp.
3. Dirāsāt fī al-Ḥubb, Cairo, al-Hilāl, 1966, 177 pp.
4. Dirāsāt fī al-Riwāya wa al-Qiṣṣa al-Qaṣīra, Cairo, al-Anjlū al-Miṣrīya, 1967, 308 pp.
5. Al-Masā' al-Akhīr, Cairo, al-Maᶜārif, 1963, 148 pp.
6. Al-ᶜUshshāq al-Khamsa, Cairo, al-Qawmīya, 1962?, 182 pp.

AHMAD FĀRIS AL-SHIDYĀQ

Works by Author

1. Khabarīyat As^{c}ad al-Shidyāq, Malta, 1833.

2. Al-Wāsita fī Ma^{c}rifat Ahwāl Mālta, Mālta, 1834. (2nd print.-Instanbul,al-Jawā'ib,1881.)

3. Al-Bakūrā al-Shahīya fī Nahw al-Lugha al- Arabīya, Malta, 183.

4. Al-Lafīf fī Kull Ma^{c}nā Zarīf, Malta, 1939.
(2nd printing -Istanbul, al-Jawa'ib, 1881.)

5. Al-Muhāwara al-Insīya fī al-Lughatayn al-Inklīzīya wa al- Arabīya, Malta, 1840.
(2nd printing - Instanbul, al-Jawa'ib, 1881.)

6. Sharh Tabā'i^{c} al-Hayawān, Malta, 1841, 349pp.
(translation of W.F. Mavor's Natural History for Use in School.)

7. Sanad al-Rāwī fī al-Sarf al-Fransāwī, Paris, 1843. (written jointly with Gustave Duja)

8. Qasīda fī Madh Ahmad Bāshā Bey Tūnis, Zeitschrift der Deutschen Morgenländischen Gesellschaft, 1851, vol. 5, p. 250.

9. Al-Sāq ^{c}ala al-Sāq fī Mā Huwa al-Fārayāq, aw Ayyām wa Shuhūr wa A^{c}wām fī ^{c}Ajm al-^{c}Arab wa al-A^{c}jām, Paris, 1855.
(later printing - Beirut, al-Hayat, 1966, 742p.)

10. Tarjamat al-Kitāb al Muqaddas, London, 1859.

11. Kashf al-Mukhabbā ^{c}an Funūn Urubbā, Tunis, 1865.

12. Sirr al-Layāl fī al-Qalb wa al-Ibdāl, al-Sultaniya, 1868.

13. Ghunyat al-Tālib wa Munyat al-Rāghib fī al-Sarf wa al-Nahw wa Hurūf al Ma^{c}ānī, Istanbul, al-Jawā'ib, 1870 (and 1888), 278pp.

14. Kanz al-Rāghib fī Muntakhabāt al-Jawā'ib, Istanbul, al-Jawā'ib, 1870-1881.

15. Kanz al-Lughāt: Fārisi Turkī wa ^{c}Arabī, Beirut - 1876.

16. Al-Jāsūa ^{c}ala al-Qāmūs, Istanbul, al-Jawā'ib, 1881, 690pp.

17. Al-Maqāla al-Bakhahīshīya wa al-Sultān Bakhshīsh, Algiers, 1893. (printed with French translation by M. Arnaud.)

18. Falsafat al-Tarbiya wa al-Adab, Alexandria, 1924.

2. (FĀRIS AL-SHIDYĀQ)

Manuscript Works by Author

1. Al-Mar'a fī ᶜAks al-Tawrāt, approx. 700 pp.
(translation of the Torah, author asked his son to print it only after his death)

2. "Munāẓarātuhu li-Ibrāhīm al-Yāzijī", Majallat al-Jinān.

3. Muntahā al-ᶜAjab fī Khaṣā'iṣ Lughat al-ᶜArab, several volumes.
(study of the letters of the Arabic alphabet, burned up with other works of author which burned up)

4. Al-Nafā'is fī Inshā' Aḥmad Fāris.

5. Nubdha Shā'iqa fī al-Radd ᶜala Maṭrān Mālṭa.

6. Al-Rawḍ al-Nāḍir fī Abyāt wa Nawādir.

7. Tarājim Mashāhīr al-ᶜAṣr.

8. Al-Taqnīᶜ fī ᶜIlm al-Badīᶜ.

9. Lā Ta'wīl fī al-Injīl.

10. Collection of poetry, about 22,000 verses, criticalrevision made in 1882.

11. Various letters and articles, some of which have been published in books, newspapers, and magazines (some were published in Al-Makshūf, No. 170, and others in Majallat al-Salām, Beirut, vol. 6, p.67)

SHIBLĪ AL-SHUMAYYIL

Works by Author

1. Ārā' al-Duktūr al-Shumayyil, Cairo, al-Maᶜārif, 1912, 44 pp.
2. Falsafat al-Nushū' wa al-Irtiqā', Cairo, al-Muqtaṭaf, 1910, 367 pp. (concerns Darwin's Origin of the Species)
3. Al-Ḥaqīqa, Al-Muqtaṭaf,1885, 100 pp. (a reply to the theories of Darwin)
4. Al-Ḥubb ᶜalā al-Fiṭra.
5. Kitāb al-Ahwiya wa al-Miyāh wa al-Buldān li- Ibqirāṭ al-Ṭabīb, Cairo, al-Muqtaṭaf, 1885.
6. Kitāb al-ᶜAlāmāt.
7. Majallat "Al-Shifā'" Sanat 1886.
8. Majmūᶜat al-Duktūr Shiblī al-Shumayyil, al-Maᶜārif, 1910, 341 pp.
9. Risālat al-ᶜArab wa al-Atrāk.
10. Risāla fī al-Hawā' al-Aṣfar wa al-Wiqāya minhu wa ᶜIlājuhu, Cairo, 1890. (presented to Dawlat Riyaḍ Pasha)
11. Risālat al- Maᶜāṭil wa Hiya Ṣadā "Risālat al-Ghufrān" lil-Maᶜarrī.
12. Shakwā wa Āmāl, Cairo, al-Maᶜārif.
13. Sharḥ Bakhnar ᶜalā Madhhab Darwin, Alexandria, al-Maḥrūsa, 1884, 163 pp.

Works About Author

1. Al-Shaykh Abī al-Majd Muḥammad Riḍā al-Iṣfahānī, Kitāb Naqd Falsafat Darwin, Baghdad, al-Wilāya, 1912, 500 pp. (2 parts)

YŪSUF AL-SIBĀ^{c}Ī

Works by Author

1. Aqwā min al-Zaman, Cairo, al-Khānjī, 1964, 207 pp. (6-act play)
2. Arḍ al-Nifāq, Cairo, al-Khānjī, 1962, 487 pp.
3. Aṭyāf, (2nd printing), Cairo, al-Khānjī, 1965, 179 pp. (short stories)
4. Ayyām min ^{c}Umrī, Cairo, al-Khānjī, 1962, 437 pp.
5. Ayyām Mushriqa, Cairo, al-Khānjī, 1961, 436 pp.
6. Ayyām Tamurr, Cairo, al-^{c}Arabīya, 1958, 424 pp.
7. Ayyām wa Dhikriyāt, Cairo, al-Khānjī, 1961, 433 pp. (essays)
8. Al-Baḥth ^{c}an Jasad, al-Fiḍḍī, 159 pp.
9. Bayn Abū al-Rīsh wa Junaynat Nāmīsh, Cairo, al-Khānjī, 1965 , 203 pp.
10. Bayn al-Aṭlāl, Udhkurīnī, Cairo, al-Khānjī, 1965, 447 pp.
11. Fadaytuki yā Laylā, Āthār ^{c}alā al-Rimāl, Cairo, al-Khānjī, 1965, 423 pp.
12. Al-Faylasūf, (2nd printing), Cairo, al-^{c}Arabīya, 1963, 424 pp. (written jointly with Muḥammad al-Sibā^{c}ī)
13. Fī Mawkib al-Hawā, (4th printing), Cairo, al-Fikr al-^{c}Arabī, no date, 179 pp.
14. Hādhā Huwa al-Ḥubb, Cairo, al-Fikr al-^{c}Arabī, 199 pp.
15. Hādhihi al-Nufūs, Cairo, al-Fikr al-^{c}Arabī, 178 pp. (4th printing)
16. Hamsa Ghābira, Cairo, al-Fikr al-^{c}Arabi.
17. Innī Rāḥila, (2nd printing), Cairo, al-Khānjī, 1965, 439 pp.
18. Ithnā ^{c}Ashar Rajulan, Cairo, al-Khānjī, 1965, 197 pp. (short stories)
19. Ithnatā ^{c}Ashrat Imra'a, Cairo, al-Khānjī, 1965, 194 pp. (short stories)
20. Jaffat al-Dumū^{c}, Cairo, al-Khānjī, 196-, 947 pp. (2 volumes)
21. Jam^{c}īyat Qatl al-Zawjāt, Cairo, al-Nahḍa al-Miṣrīya, (play)
22. Khabāyā al-Ṣudūr, Cairo, al-Khānjī, 1966, 199 pp. (short stories)
23. Laṭīmāt wa Lathīmāt, 267 pp.
24. Layālī wa Dumū^{c}, Cairo, al-Khānjī, 1965, 199 pp. (short stories)

2. (YŪSUF AL-SIBĀ^{c}Ī)

Works by Author (cont'd)

25. Layl Lahu Ākhir, Cairo, al-Khānjī, 1964, 977 pp. (2 volumes)
26. Laylat Khamr, Cairo, al-Khānjī, no date, 189 pp. (stories)
27. Min ^{c}Ālam al-Majhūl, 215 pp.
28. Min Ḥayātī, Cairo, al-^{c}Arabīya, 1958, 221 pp.
29. Mubkī al-^{c}Ushshāq, Cairo, al-Fikr al-^{c}Arabī, (3rd printing)
30. Nādiya, (3rd printing), Cairo, al-Khānjī, 1966, 999 pp. (2 volumes)
31. Nā'ib ^{c}Izrā'īl, Cairo, Al-Khānjī, 1947, 200 pp.
32. Nafḥa min al-Īmān, Cairo, al-Fikr al-^{c}Arabī.
33. Radd Qalbī, Cairo, al-Khānjī, 1965, 1005 pp. (2 volumes)
34. Al-Saqqā Māt, Cairo, al-Khānjī, 1962 486 pp.
35. Al-Shaykh Za^{c}rab , Cairo, al Khānjī.
36. Sitt Nisā' wa Sittat Rijāl, Cairo, al Khānjī, 1965, 198 pp. (short stories)
37. Summār al Layālī, Cairo, al Fikr al ^{c}Arabī, 1964 , 198 pp.
38. Ṣūra Ṭibq al Aṣl, 208 pp.
39. Ṭarīq al ^{c}Awda, Cairo, al ^{c}Arabīya, 196 , 444 pp.
40. Ughniyāt, Cairo, al Khānjī, no date, 182 pp. (stories)
41. Umm Ratība, Cairo, al Khānjī, 1965, 208 pp. (3 act comedy)
42. Warā al Sitār, Cairo, al Khānjī, 1963 , 187 pp. (3 act play)
43. Yā Umma Ḍaḥikat, Cairo, al Khānjī, no date, 200 pp.

MUḤAMMAD RASHĪD RIḌĀ

Works by Author:

1. ᶜAqīdat al-Ṣalb wa al-Fidā', Cairo, al-Manār, 167 pp.
2. Le Califat dans le Doctrine de Rashid Rida, Beirut, 1938, 286 pp. (translation of Al-Khilāfa aw al-Imāma al-ᶜUẓma into French by Henri Laoust)
3. Al-Fārūq ᶜUmar bin al-Khaṭṭāb, Cairo, al-Manār, 1936, 350 pp.
4. Ḥuqūq al-Nisā' fī al-Islām, Cairo, al-Manār, 1932, 122 pp.
5. Al-Imām ᶜAlī bin Abī Ṭālib, Karram Allāh Wajhahu, Rābiᶜ al-Khulafā' al-Rāshidīn, Cairo, al-Ḥalabī, 1939, 360 pp.
6. Injīl Barnābā, Cairo, al-Manār, 1925.
7. Al-Iᶜtiṣām, li-Abī Ishāq Ibrāhīm bin Mūsā bin Muḥammad ?al-Lakhmī? al-Shāṭibī al-Ghurnāṭī, Cairo, al-Tijārīya al-Kubrā, 1914, (2 volumes).
8. Al-Khilāfa aw al-Imāma al-ᶜUẓma, Cairo, al-Manār, 1922, 142 pp.
9. Khulāṣat al-Sīra al Muḥammadīya.
10. Majallat al-Manār, Cairo, 1898, 35 volumes.
11. Al-Manār wa al-Azhar.
12. Al-Mughnī li-Ibn Qudāma ᶜAlī al-Mukhtaṣar Abī al-Qāsim ᶜUmar bin Ḥusayn bin ᶜAbdullāh bin Aḥmad ?al-Ḥaraqī?, Cairo, al-Manār, 1947, 9 volumes.
13. Muḥammad Rasūl Allāh Ṣallā Allāh ᶜalayhi wa Sallam, Cairo, al-Ḥalabī, 1938, 590 pp.
14. Muḥāwarāt al-Muṣliḥ wa al-Muqallid, Cairo, al-Manār, 1907, 150 pp.
15. Mukhtaṣar Dhikrā al-Mawlid al-Nabawī.
16. Al-Muslimūn wa al-Qibṭ wa al-Muᵓtamar al-Miṣrī, Cairo, al-Manar, 1922.
17. Nidā' lil-Jins al-Laṭīf Yawm al-Mawlid al-Nabawī al-Sharīf Sanat 1351 fī Ḥuqūq al-Nisā' fī al-Islām wa Ḥaẓẓuhunna min al-Iṣlaḥ al-ᶜAmm, Cairo, al-Manār, 1947, 143 pp.
18. The Revelation to Muhammad, Bhiwandi, Thana, Ad-Darul-Qayyimah, 1960. (translation of Al-Waḥy al-Muḥammadī into English by Abdus-Samad Sharafuddin)
19. Al-Ribā wa al-Muᶜāmalāt fī al-Islām, Cairo, al-Qāhira, 1960, 103 pp.
20. Shubahāt al-Naṣārā wa Ḥujaj al-Islām, Cairo, al-Manar, 1947, 101 pp.
21. Al-Sunna wa al-Shīᶜa aw al-Wahhābīya wa al-Rāfiḍa, Cairo, al-Manar, 1928, 136 pp.

Works by Author (cont'd)

22. Tafsīr al-Fātiḥa, Cairo, al-Manār, 1926, 192 pp.

23. Tafsīr al-Fātiḥa wa Sitt Suwar min al-Khawātim, Cairo, al-Manār, 1911, 144 pp.

24. Tafsīr al-Qur'ān al-Ḥakīm al-Mushtahir bi-Ism Tafsīr al-Manār, Cairo, al-Manar, 1947, 12 volumes.

25. Tafsīr Sūrat Yūsuf ᶜalaihi al-Salām, Cairo, al-Manār, 1939, 160 pp.

26. Tārīkh al-Ustādh al-Imām al-Shaykh Muḥammad ᶜAbduh, Cairo, al-Qāhira, 1925, 3 volumes.

27. Tarjamat al-Qur'ān wa Ma fīhā min Mafāsid.

28. al-Wahhābīyūn wa al-Hijāz, Cairo, al-Manar, 1926, 98 pp.

29. al-Waḥy al-Muḥammadī, Cairo, al-Manār, 1947, 370 pp.

30. Yusr al-Islām wa Usūl al-Tashrīᶜ al-ᶜĀmm fi Nahy Allāh wa Rasūlihi ᶜan Kathrat al-Su'āl, Cairo, al-Manār, 1928, 80 pp.

AMĪN AL-RĪḤĀNĪ

1. Adab wa Fann, Beirut, Dār Rīḥānī, 1957, 170 pp.
2. Antum al-Shuᶜarā', Beirut, al-Kashshāf, 1933, 92 pp.
3. Arabian Peak and Desert, London, Constable, 1930, 280 pp.
4. Around the Coasts of Arabia, Boston, Houghton Mifflin, 1930, 364 pp.
5. The Book of Khalid, New York, Dodd, Mead and Co. 1911.
6. Budhūr lil-Zāriᶜīn, Beirut, al-Rīḥānī, 1959, 92 pp.
7. A Chant of Mystics, New York, J.T.White and Co., 1921.
8. The Descent of Bolshevism, Boston, The Straford Co., 1920
9. Dhikrā Jibrān, Beirut, Dār Ṣādir, 1932, 11 pp.
10. The Fate of Palestine, Beirut, Rihani Publishing House, 1967.
11. Faiṣal al-Awwal, Beirut, Ṣādir, 1934, 235 pp.
12. Ibn Sa'oud of Arabia, London, Constable, 1928, 370 pp.
13. Khārij al-Ḥarīm, Cairo, al-Ahlīya, 1922, 137 pp.
14. The Luzumiyat of Abu al-Ala, Boston, J.T.White and Co., 1918.
15. Al-Maghrib al-Aqṣā, Cairo, al-Maᶜārif, 1952, 684 pp.
16. The Maker of Modern Arabia, Boston, Houghton Mifflin, 1928, 370 pp.
17. Al-Muḥālafat al-Thulāthīya fī al-Mamlakat al-Ḥayawānīya, New York, al-Hudā, 1903.
18. Mūjiz Tārīkh al-Thawrat al-Faransīya, New York, 1903.
19. Al-Mukārī wa al-Kāhin, New York, al-Hudā, 1902.
20. Mukhtārāt min Amīn al-Riḥānī, Beirut, Ṣādir, 194-, 119 pp.
21. Mulūk al-ᶜArab, Beirut, al-ᶜIlmīya, 1924 and 1929, 925 pp.
22. Myrtle and Myrrh, Boston, Gorham Press, 1905.
23. Al-Nakabāt aw Khulāsa Tārīkh Sūrīya, Beirut, al-ᶜIlmīya, 1928, 112pp.
24. The Path of Vision, New York, J.T.White and Co., 1921.
25. Qalb al-ᶜIrāq, Beirut, Ṣādir, 1935, 311 pp.
26. Qalb Lubnān, Beirut, Ṣādir, 1947, 610 pp.
27. Al-Qawmīyāt, Beirut, al-Rīḥānī, 1956.

29. Rasā'il Amīn al-Rīḥānī, 1896-1940, Beirut, al-Rīḥānī, 1959, 573 pp.

30. Al-Rīḥānīyāt, Beirut, Ṣādir, 1910-11 and 1923-24 and al-Rīḥānī, 1956, 2 vols.

31. Sijil al-Tawba, Cairo, al-Maᶜārif, 1951, 118 pp.

32. Tārīkh Najd al-Ḥadith wa Mulḥaqatihi, Beirut, Ṣādir, 1927, 432 pp.

33. Al-Taṭarruf wa al-Iṣlāḥ, Beirut, al-ᶜIlmīya, 1928, 78 pp.

34. Thalath Khuṭub:fī Nār al-Murāqaba wa Nūr al-Dustūr, Beirut, 1908.

35. Wafā' al-Zamān, Beirut, al-Balāgh, 1935.

36. Wujūh Sharqīya wa Gharbīya, Beirut, al-Rīḥānī, 1957, 147 pp.

37. Zanbaqat al-Ghūr, New York, al-Funūn, 1910, 330 pp. and later Beirut editions.

38. The Quatrains of Abu al-Ala', New York, Doubleday, 1903, 144 pp.

Studies on al-Rīḥānī

1. Albirt al-Rīḥānī: Amīn al-Rīḥānī, Beirut,al-Rīḥānī, 1941, 130 pp.

2. Albirt al-Rīḥānī: al-Rīḥānī wa Muᶜāṣirūhu:Rasā'il al-Udāba' ilaihi,Beirut, al-Rīḥanī, 1966, 378 pp.

3. Buṭrus al-Bustanī: Amīn al-Rīḥānī; Mukhtārāt, Beirut, Ṣādir, 1948, 129 pp.

4. Ḥasan al-Rawi

5. ᶜĪsā Mikhā'īl Sābā: Amīn al-Rīḥānī, Cairo, al-Maᶜārif, 1968, 124 pp.

6. Isᶜāf al-Nashāshībī: al-Lughat al-ᶜArabīya wa al-Ustādh al-Rīḥānī, Cairo, al-Maᶜarif, 1928.

7. Jamīl Jabr: Amīn al-Rīḥānī:Sīratuhu wa Adabuhu, Ṣaida, al-ᶜAṣrīya, 1964, 208 pp

8. Mārūn ᶜAbbūd: Amīn al-Rīḥānī, Cairo, al-Maᶜārif, 1952, 140 pp.

9. Muḥammad ᶜAlī Mūsā: Amīn al-Rīḥānī: Ḥayātuhu wa Āthāruhu, Beirut, al-Sharq al-Jadīd, 1961, 160 pp.

10. Muḥammad al-Najafī: al-Mutālaᶜāt wa al-Murājaᶜāt wa al-Nuqūd wa al-Rudūd, Beirut, al-Ahlīya, 1913.

11. Rufāᶜīl Baṭṭī: Amīn al-Rīḥānī fī al-ᶜIrāq, Baghdad, 1923, 230 pp.

12. Ra'īf Khūrī: Amīn al-Rīḥānī, Beirut, al-Qāri' al-ᶜArabī, 1948, 115 pp.

13. Sāmi al-Kayyālī: Amīn al-Rīḥānī,Cairo, Maᶜhad al-Dirāsāt al-ᶜArabīya al-ᶜAlīya, L960, 211 pp.

14. Tawfīq al-Rāfiᶜī: Amīn al-Rīḥānī, Cairo, al-Hilāl, no date, 213 pp.

RIFĀᶜA RĀFIᶜ AL TAHṬĀWĪ

Works by Author

1. Nazm al-ᶜUqūd fī Kasr al-ᶜŪd, Paris, 1826. (translation of qaṣīda La Lyre by Brisée by Yusuf Ajoub)

2. Al-Maᶜādin al Nāfiᶜa li Tadbīr Maᶜāyish al-Khalāyiq, Cairo (Būlāq), 1832. (translation of work by Farārd)

3. Qalā'id al-Mafākhir fī Gharīb ᶜAwā'id al-Awā'il wa al-Awākhir, Cairo (Būlāq), 1833. (two volumes of parts, the first one being about Europe and the way of life of its inhabitants and the second one being an encyclopedia of geographic and historical terms)

4. Al-Taᶜrībāt al-Shāfiya li Murīd al-Jughrāfiyā, Cairo (Būlāq), 1834 and 1838, 303 pp. (from the geography of C. Malte Brun)

5. Al-Kanz al-Mukhtār fī Kashf al-Arādī wa al-Rihār, Cairo, 1834, 242 pp.

6. Kitāb Qudamā' al-Falāsifa, Cairo (Būlāq), 1836. (translation into Arabic)

7. Bidāyat al-Qudamā' wa Hidāyat al-Hukamā', Cairo (Būlāq), 1838, 271 pp. (history of the Middle East)

8. Tārīkh Qudamā' al-Miṣrīyīn, Cairo (Būlāq), 1838.

9. Al-Jughrāfiyā al-ᶜUmūmīya, Cairo, (Būlāq), 1838, volumes 1 and 3. (translation into Arabic of C. Malte Brun "Précis de la Geographie Universelle")

10. Al-Mantiq, Cairo (Būlāq), 1838, (translation into Arabic of book by Dumarsaid)

11. Mabādi' al-Handasa, Cairo (Būlāq), 1842. (translation into Arabic)

12. Jughrāfiyā Ṣaghīra, Cairo (Būlāq), 1846. (translation into Arabic)

13. Jamāl al-Ujrūmīya, Cairo (Būlāq), 1863.

14. Muqaddima Waṭanīya Miṣrīya, Cairo, (Būlāq), 1866.

15. Risālat al-Maᶜādin, Cairo (Būlāq), 1867. (translation into Arabic)

16. Anwār Tawfīq al-Jalīl fī Akhbār Miṣr wa Tawthīq Banī Ismāᶜīl, Cairo, 1868, 580 pp.

17. Taᶜrīb Qānūn al-Tijāra, Cairo (Būlāq), 1868.

18. Mawāqiᶜ al-Aflāk fī Akhbār Talīmāk, Beirut (al Sūrīya), 1868, 792 pp. (translation of work by Fenelon)

19. Al-Tuḥfa al-Maktabīya li Taqrīb al-Lugha al-ᶜArabīya, Cairo, 1869.

20. Manāhij al-Albāb al-Miṣrīya fī Manāhij al-Ādāb al-ᶜAṣrīya, Cairo (Būlāq), 1869, 291 pp. (2nd printing Cairo, 1912, 450 pp.)

2. (RIFĀᶜA RĀFIᶜ AL ṬAHṬAWI)

Works by Author (cont'd)

21. Al-Qawl al-Sadīd fī al-Ijtihād wa al-Taqlīd, Cairo (Wādī al-Nīl), 1871.

22. Al-Kawākib al-Nayyira fi Layālī Afrāh al-ᶜAzīz al-Muqmira, Cairo (Būlāq), 1872. (collection of congratulations to Khedive Tawfiq Pasha)

23. Al-Murshid al-Amīn lil Banāt wa al Banīn, Cairo (al Maᶜārif), 1872.

24. Nihāyat al-Ījāz fī Sīrat Sākin al-Hijāz, Cairo, 1874. (al Madāris al Malakīya)

25. Al-Rasūl al-Amīn lil Banāt wa al-Banīn, Cairo, 1875.

26. Taᶜrīb al-Qānūn al-Faransī, Cairo (Būlāq), 1876. (two parts)

27. Takhlīs al-Ibrīz fī Talkhīs Bārīz, Cairo (Būlāq), no date. (several printings) (Last printing Cairo, 1958, 330 pp.)

Books about Author

1. Ahmad Ahmad Badawī, Rifāᶜa Rāfiᶜ al-Ṭahṭāwī, Cairo, no date, 367 pp. (2nd printing)

2. Al Sayyid Sālih Majdī, Hulyat al-Zaman bi Manāqib Khādim al-Watan Sīrat Rifāᶜa Rāfiᶜ al-Ṭahṭāwī, Cairo, 1958, 96 pp.

3. Husayn Fawzī al Najjār, Rifāᶜa al-Ṭahṭāwī Rā'id al-Fikr wa Imām Nahda, Cairo, 1966, 182 p.

4. United Arab Republic Al-Majlis al-Aᶜlā li Riᶜāyat al-Funūn wa al Ādāb wa al ᶜUlum al-Ijtimaᶜiya, Mahrajān Rifāᶜa Rāfiᶜ al-Ṭahṭāwī, Cairo, 1960, 201 pp.

6. Jamāl al-Dīn al-Shayyāl, Rifāᶜa al-Ṭahṭāwī Zaᶜīm al-Nahda al-Fikrīya fī ᶜAsr Muhammad ᶜAlī, Cairo, 1945, 134 pp.

AḤMAD TAIMŪR

Works by Author

1. Abū al-ᶜAlā' al-Maᶜarrī, Nisābuhu , Akhbāruhu, Shiᶜruhu, Muᶜtaqaduhu, Cairo, Lajnat al-Ta'lif, 1940, 160 pp.
2. Aᶜlām al-Fikr al-Islāmī fī al-ᶜAṣr al-Ḥadīth, Cairo, al Mu'allafāt al Taymūrīya, 1967, 381 pp.
3. Al-Amthāl al-ᶜĀmmīya, Cairo, al-Istiqāma, 1949, 443 pp.
4. Al Āthār al-Nabawīya, Cairo, al Mu'allafāt al-Taymūrīya, 1951, 129 pp.
5. Awhām Shuᶜarā' al-ᶜArab fī al-Maᶜānī, Cairo, al Kitāb al ᶜArabī, 1950, 111 pp.
6. Al Barqīyāt lil Risāla wa al-Maqāla, Cairo, Dār al-Ta'līf, 1949.
7. Ḍabṭ al-Aᶜlām, Cairo, Iḥyā' al-Kutub al-ᶜArabīya, 1947, 180 pp.
8. Fihris al-Khizāna al-Taymūrīya, Cairo, al-Kutub al-Miṣrīya, 1948. (2 volumes)
9. Fihris Kitāb al-Kawākib al-Sayyāra fī Tartīb al-Ziyāra, Cairo, 1907.
10. Al-Ḥubb ᶜInda al ᶜArab, Cairo, al-Kātib al-ᶜArabī, 1964, 184 pp.
11. Al-Kināyāt al-ᶜĀmmīya, Cairo, al-Istiqāma, 128 pp.
12. Luᶜab al-ᶜArab, Cairo, 1948, 114 pp.
13. Al-Mawsūᶜa al-Taymūrīya, min Kunūz al-ᶜArab fī al-Lugha wa al-Fann wa al-Adab (etc), Cairo, al-Mu'allafat al-Taymuriya, 1961, 230 pp.
14. Muḥammad Rasūl Allāh, Cairo, Lajnat al-Mu'allafāt al-Taymūrīya, 1965, 159 pp.
15. Al Mūsīqā wa al-Ghinā' ᶜinda al-ᶜArab, Cairo, al-Mu'allafāt al-Taymūrīya, 1963, 183 pp.
16. Nazra Tārīkhīya fī Hudūth al-Madhāhib al-Arbaᶜa, al-Hanafī, al-Mālikī, al-Shafiᶜī, wa al-Ḥanbalī wa Intisharuha, (latest printing) Cairo, al-Kātib al-ᶜArabī, 1965, 89 pp.
17. Qabr al-Imām al-Suyūṭī wa Taḥqīq Mawdiᶜihi, Cairo, 1926, 24 pp.
18. Rasā'il Taymūr ilā al Ab Anastās Mārī al-Karmalī, Baghdad, al Maᶜārif, 1947, 161 pp. (published and edited by Kūr Kīs, and Mīkhā'īl ᶜAwwād)
19. Risālat Rashīd al-Dīn al-Waṭwāt, (published by Aḥmad Taymūr).
20. Al-Rutab wa al-Alqāb, Damascus, al Dīwān al Shūrī al Ḥarbī, 1919, 24 pp.
21. Al-Rutab wa al-Alqāb al-Misrīya li Rijāl al-Jaysh wa al-Hay'a al-ᶜIlmīya wa al-Qalamīya, Cairo, al-Kitāb al-ᶜArabī, 1950, 96 pp.

2. (AḤMAD TAIMŪR)

Works by Author (cont'd)

22. Al-Tadhkira al-Taymūrīya, Cairo, al-Mu'allafāt al-Taymūrīya, 1953, 460 pp.

23. Tarājim Aʿyān al-Qarn al-Thālith ʿAshar wa Awā'il al-Rābiʿ ʿAshar, Cairo, ʿAbd al-Ḥamīd Aḥmad Ḥanafī, 1940, 163 pp.

24. Tārīkh al-ʿAlam al-ʿUthmānī, Cairo, 18 pp.

25. Taṣḥīḥ Lisān al-ʿArab, Cairo, al-Jamālīya, 1915.

26. Al-Taṣwīr ʿind al-ʿArab, Cairo, al-Mu'allafāt al Taymūrīya, 1942, 324 pp.

27. Taṣḥīḥ al-Qāmūs al-Muḥīṭ, Cairo, al-Salafīya, 1925, 49 pp.

28. Al-Yazīdīya wa Mansha' Niḥlatihim, Cairo, al-Salafīya, 1928, 48 pp.

Works about Author

1. Dhikrā Aḥmad Taymūr Bāshā, Cairo, 1954.

MAḤMŪD TAIMŪR

Works by Author

1. Abū al-Hawl Yaṭīr, Cairo, al-Istiqāma, 1947, 308 pp.
2. Abū al-Shawārib, Cairo, 1966.
3. Abū ᶜAlī ᶜĀmil Artist wa Qiṣaṣ Ukhrā, Cairo, al-Salafīya, 1934, 163 pp.
4. Al-Adab al-Hādif, Cairo, al-Ādāb, 1959, 214 pp.
5. Adab wa Udabā', Cairo, 1968.
6. Al-Shaykh ᶜAfā Allāh wa Qiṣaṣ Ukhrā, Cairo, al-Salafīya, 1936, 176 pp.
7. Anā al-Qātil wa Qiṣaṣ Ukhrā, Cairo, al-Qalam, 196 , 158 pp.
8. Ashtar min Iblīs, Cairo, al-Maᶜārif, 1953, 137 pp. (play)(Later printing 1965, 126 pp.)
9. Al-Bārūna Umm Aḥmad wa Qiṣaṣ Ukhrā, Cairo, al Maᶜārif, 1967, 118 pp.
10. La Belle Aux Lèvres Charnues, Paris, Nouvelles Éditions Latines, 1952, 185 pp. (translated from Arabic)
11. The Call of the Unknown, Beirut, Khayats, 1964, 115 pp. (translated from Arabic by Hume Horan).
12. Dirāsāt fī al Qiṣṣa wa al-Masraḥ, Cairo, al-Ādāb, 1959, 304 pp.
13. Dunyā Jadīda, Cairo, al-Ādāb, 1950 , 255 pp.
14. Firᶜawn al-Ṣaghīr wa Qiṣaṣ Ukhrā, Cairo, al-Maᶜārif, 1939, 231 pp. (3rd printing Cairo, al-Qalam, 1963, 289 pp.)
15. Ḥawwā' al-Khālida, Cairo, al-Istiqāma, 1945, 170 pp.
16. Ilā al-Liqā'....Ayyuhā al-Ḥubb, Cairo, al-Hilāl, 1967, 146 pp.
17. Intiṣār al-Ḥayāt wa Qiṣaṣ Ukhrā, Cairo, al-Maᶜārif, 1963, 179 pp.
18. ᶜIṭr wa Dukhān, (2nd printing), Cairo, al-Hilāl, 1947, 205 pp.
19. Jazīrat al-Jayb wa Mashāhid Ukhrā, Siyāḥa fī Iṭālīyā, Cairo, al-Ādāb, 1963, 194 pp.
20. Khalf al-Lithām, Cairo, 1948, 135 pp.
21. Khamsa wa Khumaysa, Cairo, al-Qawmīya, 1963, 161 pp. (six one-act plays)
22. Kilyūbātrā fī Khān al-Khalīlī, Cairo, al-Istiqāma, 1946, 215 pp. (later printing al-Hilāl, 1952, 226 pp.)

2. (MAḤMUD TAIMŪR)

Works by Author (cont'd)

23. Kull ᶜĀm wa Aṇtum bi Khayr, wa Qiṣaṣ Ukhrā, Cairo al-Maᶜārif, 1962, 226 pp.

24. Maktūb ᶜalā al-Jabīn wa Qiṣaṣ Ukhrā, Cairo, al Maᶜārif, 1941, 232 pp.

25. Al-Maṣābīḥ al-Zurq, Cairo, al-Hilāl, 1968, 129 pp.

26. Muᶜjam al-Ḥaḍāra, Cairo, al-Ādāb, 1961, 178 pp.

27. Munājayāt lil Kutub wa al-Kuttāb, Cairo, al-Thaqāfa, 1964, 326 pp.

28. Al-Munqidha, wa Ḥaflat Shāy, Cairo, al-Kutub al-Ahlīya, 1942, 151 pp. (two one act plays)

29. Al-Muzayyafūn, Cairo, al Ādāb, 1953, 143 pp.

30. Nidā' al-Majhūl, (3rd printing), Cairo, al-Ādāb, 1947, 166 pp.

31. Qalb Ghāniya wa Qiṣaṣ Ukhrā, Cairo, al-Nashr al-Ḥadīth, 1937, 202 pp. (later printing Cairo, 1961, 320 pp.) (Short stories)

32. Qanābil, (2nd printing) Cairo, al-Hilāl, 1952, 210 pp. (play).

33. Al Qiṣaṣ fī Adab al ᶜArab, Mādīhi wa Hādirihi, Cairo, Arab League, Maᶜhad al Dirāsāt al ᶜArabīya, 1958, 77 pp. (lectures)

34. Salwā fī Mahabb al-Rīḥ, Cairo, al-Istiqāma, 1947, 388 pp.

35. Shabāb wa Ghaniyāt wa Aqāṣīṣ Ukhrā, Cairo, Al-ᶜArabīya, 1958, 220 pp.

36. Shifā' al-Rūḥ, Cairo, al-Ādāb, no date, 126 pp.

37. Shifāh Ghalīẓa wa Qiṣaṣ Ukhrā, Cairo, al-Istiqāma, 1946, 126 pp.

38. Shumrūkh, Cairo, al-Hilāl, 1958, 188 pp.

39. Tamr Ḥinnā ᶜAjab, Cairo, al-Ādāb, 1958, 250 pp.

40. Tales from Egyptian Life, Cairo, Renaissance Bookshop, 1949, 140 pp. (translated by Denys Johnson-Davis).

41. Waḥdat al-Fikr al-ᶜArabī wa Muqawwimāt al-ᶜUrūba, Cairo, 1960, 11 pp. al-Idāra al-ᶜĀmma, (lecture)

42. Al-Wathba al-Ūlā, Cairo, Dār al-Nashr, 1937, 188 pp.

43. Al-Yawm Khamr, (3rd printing), Cairo, al-Maᶜārif, 1967, 270 pp.

44. Zāmir al-Ḥayy, Cairo, al Maᶜārif, 1953, 128 pp.

45. Ẓilāl Mudī'a, Falsafat al-Adab wa al-Fann wa Mushkilāt al-Mujtamaᶜ wa al Ḥayāt, Cairo, al-Nahḍa al-Miṣriya, 1963, 253 pp. (essays)

3. (MAḤMŪD TAIMŪR)

Additional Works by Author

Collections of Stories and Miscellaneous

1. Ihsān Allāh, 1959.
2. Tha'irūn, 1955.
3. Tabūt al-Khafīr, 1958.
4. Malāmih wa Ghudūn, 1950.
5. Al-Nabī al-Insān, 1956.
6. Shams wa Layl, 1958.

Plays

1. Saqr Quraysh, 1956.
2. Shuhad, 1956.
3. Al Makhba' Raqm 13, 1949.
4. Fidā', 1951.
5. ᶜAwālī , 1942.
6. Abū Shūsa wa al Mawkib, 1945.
7. Ibn Jalā , 1963.
8. Kidhb fī Kidhb, 1953.

Linguistic and Literary Studies

1. Mushkilāt al-Lugha al-ᶜArabīya, 1956.
2. Dirāsāt fī al-Qissa wa al-Masrah, "Fann al-Qisas", 1956.
3. Talā'iᶜ al-Masrah al-ᶜArabī, "Anā wa al-Masrah", 1963.

Stories Translated into French

1. ᶜIzrā'īl al-Qarya.
2. Bint al-Shaytān..
3. Nidā' al-Majhūl.
4. Gharāmiyāt Sāmī.
5. Hayāt al-Ashbāh.
6. Shifāh Ghalīza.
7. Kull ᶜĀm wa Antum bi Khayr.
8. Zahrat al-Marqas.
9. Ḥulm Samarā .

Miscellaneous

1. Khuṭuwāt ᶜalā al-Shallāl, al-Kīlānī al-Ṣaghīr, 1965..

Being Printed (as of 1965)

1. Maᶜbūd min Tīn..
2. Tāriq bin Ziyād.
3. Afānīn " Mūmāt al-Fikr al-ᶜArabī".
4. Al-Adab al-ᶜArabī fī Mi'at al-Sana al-Akhīra..

Works about Author

1. Anwar al-Jundī, Qissat Maḥmūd Taimūr.
2. Fatḥī al-Ibyārī, Fann al-Qissa ᶜind Maḥmūd Taimūr, Cairo, 1964, 140 pp.
3. Fatḥī al-Ibyārī, Maḥmūd Taimūr wa Fann al Uqsūsa..
4. Mahmūd Ibn al-Sharīf, Adab Mahmūd Taimūr lil Ḥaqīqa wa al-Tārīkh, Cairo, al-Kīlānī al-Ṣaghīr, 196 , 163 pp.

4. (MAḤMŪD TAIMŪR)

Works about Author (cont'd)

5. Nazīh al-Ḥakīm, Rā'id al-Qiṣṣa al-ᶜArabīya.

6. Ṣalāḥ al-Dīn Abū Sālim, Maḥmūd Taimūr, al-Adīb, al-Insān, Cairo, al-Istiqāma, 1961, 231 pp.

MUḤAMMAD TAIMŪR

Works by Author

1. Ḥayātunā al-Tamthīlīya, Cairo.
2. Mā Tarāhu al-ᶜUyūn, Qiṭaᶜ Qiṣaṣīya Miṣrīya, Cairo, al Qawmīya, 1964, 142 pp.
3. Al-Masraḥ al-Miṣrī, Cairo.
4. Wamīḍ al-Rūḥ, Cairo.

Works about Author

1. ᶜAbbās Khiḍr, Muḥammad Taimur, Ḥayātuhu wa Adabuhu, Cairo, al-Miṣrīya, 1966, 307 pp.

NĀṢĪF AL YĀZIJĪ

Works by Author

1. Dīwān Nāṣīf al-Yāzijī al-Lubnānī, Musahhaha bi Qalam Ibrāhīm al-Yāzijī. Al Ḥadath , Lebanon, al Sharqīya, 1904, 98 pp.
2. Faṣl al-Kitāb fī Uṣūl Lughat al-Aᶜrāb, Beirut, 1887, 225 pp.
3. Same as above Beirut, Al-Amīrkīya, 1913, 255 pp.
4. Kitāb Majmaᶜ al-Baḥrayn, Beirut, 1872, 379 pp. (2nd printing)
5. Same as above Beirut, Ṣādir, 1961, 334 pp.
6. Al-ᶜUrf al-Ṭayyib fī Sharḥ Dīwān Abī al-Ṭayyib (al-Mutanabbī), Beirut, Ṣādir, 1964.

JIRJĪ ZAIDĀN

Works by Author

About Arabic Language and Literature

1. Al-Alfāẓ al-ᶜArabīya wa al-Falsafa al-Lughawīya, Beirut, 1886; new printing Cairo, al-Hilāl, 1958 , 182 pp.
2. Al-Bulgha fī Uṣūl al-Lugha.
3. Al-Lugha al-ᶜArabīya Kā'in Ḥayy, Cairo, al-Hilāl, 1904; new printing Cairo, al-Hilāl, 196?, 141 pp.
4. Tārīkh Ādāb al-Lugha al-ᶜArabīya, Cairo, 1911; new printing Cairo, al Hilal, 1957, 4 volumes
5. Mukhtārāt Jirjī Zaidān. (3 parts)

About History

1. Ansāb al-ᶜArab al-Qudamā', Cairo, al Hilāl, 1921, 77 pp.
2. Al-Tārīkh al-ᶜĀmm mundhu al-Khalīqa ḥattā al-Ān, (only first part completed), Beirut, 1890. 226 pp.
3. Tabaqāt al-Umam aw al-Salā'il al-Basharīya, Cairo, al-Hilāl, 1912, 286 pp.
4. Tārīkh al-Tamaddun al-Islāmī, Cairo, al-Hilāl, 1902 1906; new printing Cairo, al-Hilāl, 1958, 5 volumes.
5. Tārīkh al-Yūnān wa al-Rūmān, Cairo
6. Tārīkh Misr al-Ḥadīth maᶜa Fadhlaka fī Tārīkh Misr al-Qadīm, 2 volumes, Cairo, 1889; 2nd printing 1911, 728 pp.
7. Tārīkh al-Māsūnīya al-ᶜĀmm, Cairo, 1889, 271 pp.
8. Tārīkh Inkiltarrā ilā al-Dawla al-Yūrkīya, Cairo, al Hilāl, 1908, 255 pp.
9. Tārīkh al-ᶜArab qabl al-Islām, 3rd printing Cairo, al-Hilāl, 1939, 239 pp.

About Philosophy

1. ᶜIlm al-Firāsa al-Ḥadīth aw al-Istidlāl ᶜalā Akhlāq al-Nās wa Quwāhum wa Mawāhibihim min al-Naẓar ilā Ashkāl Aᶜḍā'ihim, Cairo,al-Hilāl, 1901, 169 pp.
2. Radd Rīnān (Renan) ᶜalā Nabsh al-Hadhayān, Cairo, al-Ta'līf, 1891, 32 pp.

2. (JIRJĪ ZAIDĀN)

Biographies

1. Tarājim Mashāhīr al-Sharq fī al-Qarn al-Tāsi^{c} ^{c}Ashar, 2 volumes, Cairo, al-Hilāl, 1907; 2nd printing 1911.

Geographies

1. ^{c}Ajā'ib al-Khalq, Cairo, 1912, 204 pp.
2. Mukhtaṣar Jughrāfīyat Miṣr, Cairo, al-Ta'līf, 1891, 71 pp.

Journalism

1. Majallat al-Hilāl (from 1892 to 1914, still published under direction of his two sons Emile and Shukrī Zaidān)

Memoirs

1. Mudhakkirāt Jirjī Zaidān, (published by Ṣalāḥ al-Dīn al-Munjid), Beirut, al-Kitāb al-Jadīd, 1968, 107 pp.

Translation of Author's Works

1. Umayyads and Abbasids, (translation of the fourth volume of Zaidān's Tārīkh al-Tamaddun al-Islāmī by D.S. Margoliouth, Leyden, E.J.Brill, 325 pp.)

Historical Novels

1. Fatāt Ghassān
2. Armānusa al-Miṣrīya
3. ^{c}Adhrā' Quraysh
4. 17 Ramadān
5. Ghādat Karbalā'
6. Al Ḥajjāj bin Yūsuf
7. Fatḥ al-Andalus
8. Charles wa ^{c}Abd al-Raḥmān
9. Abū Muslim al-Khurāsānī
10. Al-^{c}Abbāsa Ukht al-Rashīd
11. Al-Amīn wa al-Ma'mūn
12. ^{c}Arūs Farghāna
13. Aḥmad bin Ṭūlūn
14. ^{c}Abd al-Raḥmān al-Nāṣir
15. Fatāt al-Qayrawān
16. Ṣalāḥ al-Dīn
17. Shajarat al Durr
18. Al-Inqilāb al-^{c}Uthmānī
19. Istibdād al-Mamālīk
20. Jihād al-Muḥibbīn
21. Asīr al-Mutamahdī
22. Al Mamlūk al-Sharīd

Works about Author

1. ^{c}Abd al-Fattāḥ ^{c}Ibāda, Jirjī Zaidān, Cairo.
2. Bunāt al-Nahḍa al-^{c}Arabīya, Cairo, al-Hilāl, 1964 , 208 pp.
3. Al-Hilāl, Vol. 47, No. 10 (special issue about Jirjī Zaidān with articles by many authors such as ^{c}Abbās Maḥmūd al-^{c}Aqqād, Khalīl Maṭrān and Muḥammad Ḥusain Haikal)

3. (JIRJI ZAIDAN)

Works about Author (cont'd)

4. Idārat Al-Hilāl, Jirjī Zaidān, Cairo, Al-Hilāl, 1915 (biography of Jirjī Zaidān plus funeral eulogies).

5. Majallat al-Hadaf al-ᶜIrāqīya, 1939, (special issue about Jirjī Zaidān)

6. Muḥammad Ṣalāḥ Mūsā, Jirjī Zaidān, 40 pp. Damascus (dissertation presented at U. of Damascus)

7. Al-Shaykh Shiblī al-Nuᶜmān al-Hindī, Intiqād Kitāb Tārīkh al-Tamaddun al-Islāmī...., Cairo, al-Manār, 1911, 168 pp.

MAYY ZIYADA

Works by Authoress

1. Azhār Hulm, (Fleurs du Reve, a collection of poetry in French published under the pseudonym of Isis Copia and translated into Arabic by Jamīl Jabr Beirut).

2. Bāhithat al-Bādiya aw Mulk Hafnī Nāṣif, Cairo, al Muqtaṭaf, 1920, 189 pp.

3. Bayn al-Juzur wa al-Madd Ṣafahāt fī al-Lugha wa al-Ādāb wa al-Fann wa al-Ḥaḍāra, (2nd printing) Beirut, al-Andalus, 1963, 182 pp. (1st printing Cairo, al-Hilāl, 1924, 279 pp.)

4. Ghāyat al-Ḥaqq, 1921. (series of lectures given in the U. of Cairo at the request of the Jam^{c}īyat Fatāt Miṣr)

5. Al-Ḥubb fī al-^{c}Adhāb, (novel translated from English).

6. Ibtisāmāt wa Dumū^{c} aw al-Ḥubb al-Almānī, Cairo, al-Hilāl, 1921.. (work by Max Muller, introduction by Mayy Ziyāda)

7. Kalimāt wa Ishārāt, Cairo, al-Hilāl, 1922, 144 pp. (collection of literary speeches on many social, philosophical and academic subjects)

8. Al-Musāwāt, Cairo, al-Hilāl , 207 pp.

9. Al-Rasā'il, Beirut, 1948, 223 pp. (published by Madeline Arqash) (republished later by Jamīl Jabr Beirut, Maktabat Bairūt, 1951, 94 pp.)

10. Risālat al-Adīb ilā al-Ḥayāt al-^{c}Arabīya, Beirut, al-^{c}Urwa al-Wuthqā, 1938, 16 pp.

11. Rujū^{c} al-Mawja, (novel translated from French)

12. Al-Sahā'if, Cairo, al-Salafīya, 1924, 214 pp. (selections from authoress's articles from various magazines).

13. Sawānih Fatāt, Cairo, al-Hilāl, 1922, 153 pp. (collections of thoughts and opinions about life).

14. Shā^{c}irat al-Ṭalī^{c}a, ^{c}Ā'isha Taimūr, Cairo, al-Hilāl, 1956, 194 pp.

15. Zulumāt wa Ashi^{cc}a, Beirut, al-Andalus, 1963, 118 pp. (1st printing Cairo, al-Hilāl, 1923, 157 pp.)

Works about Authoress

1. ^{c}Abd al-Laṭīf Sharāra, Mayy Ziyāda, Dirāsa Taḥlīlīya, Beirut, Ṣādir, 1965, 238 pp.

2. ^{c}Abd al-Salām Hāshim Ḥāfiẓ, Al-Rāfi^{c}ī wa Mayy, Cairo, al-Miṣrīya, 1964, 154 pp.

2. (MAYY ZIYĀDA)

Works about Authoress (cont'd)

3. Hudā Hānim Shaᶜrāwī, Dhikrā Faqīdat al-Adab al-Nābigha Mayy, Cairo, al-ᶜAṣrīya, 1942, 104 pp.

4. Jamīl Jabr, Mayy, Beirut, Ṣādir, 1954, 96 pp. (from the series al-Manāhil)

5. Jamīl Jabr, Mayy fī Ḥayātihā al-Muḍṭariba, Beirut, Dār Bayrūt, 1953, 170 pp.

6. Jamīl Jabr, Mayy wa Jibrān, Beirut, Dār al-Jamāl, 1950.

7. Jamīl Jabr, Mayy Ziyāda fī Ḥayātihā wa Adabihā, Beirut, al-Kāthūlīkīya, 1960, 106 pp.

8. Jūliyā Dimashqīya, Mayy fī Sūriyā wa Lubnān, Beirut, Maṭbaᶜat wa Zinkūghrāf Ṭabbāra , 1924, 148 pp.

9. Mansūr Fahmī, Mayy Ziyāda, Cairo, Arab League, Maᶜhad al-Dirāsāt al-ᶜArabīya al-ᶜĀliya, 1955, 214 pp. (series of lectures)

10. Mansūr Fahmī, Mayy Ziyāda wa Rā'idāt al-Adab al-ᶜArabī al-Ḥadīth, Cairo, Maᶜhad al-Dirāsāt al-ᶜArabīya, 1954.

11. Muḥammad ᶜAbd al-Ghanī Ḥasan, Ḥayāt Mayy, Cairo, al-Muqtaṭaf, 1942, 96 pp.

12. Muḥammad ᶜAbd al-Ghanī Ḥasan, Mayy, Adībat al-Sharq wa al-ᶜUrūba, Cairo, ᶜĀlam al-Kutub, 1964, 338 pp.